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Et Eccles: de Northchapel in Agro Sussexiensi
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A

TREATISE

ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

ENGLAND,

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

ENGLAND,

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES,

WITH TEN ILLUSTRATIVE PLATES.

BY THE

REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A. &c.

" Certe solet ecclesiarum cultus augustior quaslibet brutas mentes ad " orandum illicere, quamlibet cervicositatem ad supplicandum et inflec- " tere." *Gul. Malmesbur. De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. XV. Auct.*

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TO

HIS GRACE,

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK,

HEREDITARY EARL MARSHAL OF ENGLAND,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARTS, &c.

THIS TREATISE

On an Ancient Art,

WHICH OWES ITS RISE AND PROGRESS TO ENGLAND,

IN GRATITUDE,

FOR PROTECTION FROM OBLOQUY,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE subject of the present Treatise has given rise to so much and such earnest debate among the learned and ingenious, and has occasioned so many publications, and such a variety of systems concerning it, as cannot fail of exciting the wonder of persons insensible to the grandeur and beauty of Pointed Architecture, and unacquainted with the merit of its invention.

Amongst other writers on this subject, is the present author, in the

Second Volume of his HISTORY of WINCHESTER, the first edition of which was published about a dozen years ago; when much attention was paid to the system there laid down. The following are the outlines of it: *first*, that the whole style of Pointed Architecture, with all its members and embellishments of cluster-columns, converging groins, flying buttresses, tracery, tabernacles, crockets, finials, cusps, orbs, pinnacles, and spires, grew, by degrees, out of the simple pointed arch, between the latter end of the 12th and the early part of the 14th centuries; *secondly*, that the pointed arch itself was discovered by observing the happy effect of those intersecting semicircular arches with which the architects of the latter end

of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries were accustomed to ornament all their principal ecclesiastical edifices; and *thirdly*, that we are chiefly indebted for both these discoveries, that is to say, both for the rise and the progress of Pointed Architecture, to our own ancestors, the Anglo-Normans, and the English.

The system here traced out, which the author first took up and advanced with a considerable degree of diffidence, has gained a much stronger hold upon his mind, in consequence of a more strict examination of historical documents and existing monuments of Pointed Architecture, and, in some degree, by more attentively weighing the arguments which have been advanced by dif-

ferent writers against this system. Nevertheless, occupied as the author has been for a long time past with other more serious studies, he is confident he should never have gone to press for the sake of defending the opinions in question, had he not been called upon and irresistibly pressed by that profound scholar and worthy man, Dr. Rees, to furnish the article GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE, for the grandest and most copious work in the English language, his new CYCLOPÆDIA. In drawing up that article, the author found himself precluded by the nature of the work, from availing himself of the numerous historical authorities he had collected in support of his system. Hence he came to the resolution of publishing the pre-

sent treatise in order to confirm and illustrate the article in the CYCLOPÆDIA, and to detail this system at greater length than he was able to do in that work.

But to return to the principal subject: the first of the positions advanced above, namely, that Pointed Architecture grew out of the Pointed Arch, seems to be generally admitted at the present day. Upon the two others, various and uncertain judgments have been formed. Thus much, however, seems clear from the discussion, that there is a wayward disposition in many learned men which leads them to believe any thing rather than what they see before their eyes, and to admit any other ancient people, even barbarians and ruthless destroyers of the

arts, to have been ingenious and capable of making a curious discovery, rather than their own high minded, magnificent, and enterprizing ancestors, who nevertheless were, beyond all dispute, the first people of the age (in which Pointed Architecture was invented, and attained its first growth), for prowess and grand undertakings in general, and the most studious of ecclesiastical architecture in particular, that any age or country ever produced.

Not content with defending his former system, the author has gone a step beyond it in the present treatise. He has attempted to refute the common objection that Pointed Architecture is destitute of orders, rules, and proportions. In opposition to this, he has maintained, that

there are three Orders of the Pointed Style, as distinct from each other as are the orders of Grecian architecture, having their respective members, ornaments, and proportions, though the essential and characteristical difference among them consists in the degree of angle formed by the pointed arch. Hence he shews that there is hardly less barbarism in confounding these orders, as for example by intermixing the obtuse angles of the third order with the acute angles of the first, in the manner that has sometimes been witnessed of late, than there was in uniting Grecian and Pointed Architecture together, as was so often done, one and two hundred years ago.

To those persons who may wish to form a general idea of the nature and effect of these respec-

tive orders, without entering into the detail of them, the three last plates in the present work cannot fail of being acceptable. He trusts that the views which they contain will convince the most superficial observer of the propriety of his division of Pointed Architecture into three distinct orders, and of the justness of his reasons for giving a preference to the second Order.

Plate VIII. shews the first order, in an interior view of the East end of Canterbury Cathedral, built at the latter end of the twelfth century. Plate IX. exhibits the second order, in an interior view of York Minster, the erection of which may be placed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Plate X. presents a specimen of the third order, in an inside view of the

Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey, built by Henry VII. at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

It may be observed, that the East end of Canterbury Cathedral, Pl. VIII. with the few exceptions mentioned in the Treatise, is entirely in the Pointed Style, and is probably the most perfect specimen of it extant, of so remote a date. It is highly grand and awful; still there is a degree of plainness and heaviness about it, which marks the first gradation from the ponderous simple Saxon Style. The Pointed Arches are irregularly formed, and, for the most part, are too acute to be graceful. The latter circumstance is more distinctly seen in the Arches of the gallery at the Eastern extremity, which are exhibited in Pl. VI, fig. 27.

There also may be seen one of those double circular Pillars, which may be considered as the first attempt to produce the cluster column. It may be observed that the apsis, or East end of the choir, where the Bishop heretofore had his Throne, and the Clergy their Stalls on each hand of him, at the back of the Altar, is semicircular. Such was the general form of this part of the Sacred Fabric, till large east windows were introduced about the beginning of the 13th century. It being in some sort, necessary that these should be in a straight line, and that the altars should be placed almost under them, to produce the desired effect; hence the choirs, about that period, were removed to the front, or westward of the altars. Another important re-

mark here occurs. The writer has observed, in his Treatise, what an incomparable advantage it is to the Architectural Student, in surveying this very interesting structure, to be possessed of a minute and accurate account of the building of it, drawn up by an intelligent eye-witness, Gervase, a monk of this Cathedral. Now it is to be noticed that, in his description and praises of the work, he never once intimates that the style of it, or of any part of it, was borrowed from Syria, Arabia, France, Spain, or Italy, but that he appears to attribute the merit of the whole chiefly to the ingenuity of its two architects, both of them of the name of William.

The view of Henry VIIth's chapel in Westminster Abbey, exhibited in

Plate X. will arrest the eye and gain the chief and unqualified applause of many a spectator.[d] No doubt, it is grand and awful in itself, and still more so when compared with most modern places of worship: still we must not forget that its characteristical features are magnificence, ingenuity, delicacy, and elegance. In these qualities it stands unrivalled among similar structures throughout the world, and hence it might aptly enough be said, by a former author, to have been *knit together by the fingers of angels.* Nevertheless, in the present writer's opinion, it is too

[d] The tracery work in this small view, appears so very rich and intricate, that it was only by an outline, or etching, an adequate idea of its beauty could be clearly represented. A Plan of the Ceiling may be seen, laid down geometrically, in *Britton's Architectural Antiquities.*

gorgeous and too elaborate to produce the proper effect of such a structure, *in its highest degree;* and the pendent capitals, in particular, which are its most striking ornaments, are more calculated to shew the skill of Sir Richard de Bray, its architect, than to add to the awfulness of the place. They certainly bring down the groins nearer to the eye instead of producing an artificial height, which is so favourable to sublime sensations. It must be added, that the arches, where we see them in their simple form, namely, in the intercolumniations on the sides and over the doors, are exceedingly obtuse or flat.

For the abovementioned reasons, the judicious observer, after admiring the magnificence and delicacy of this

gorgeous chapel, will turn with pleasure to contemplate the chaste and appropriate decorations of the Second Pointed Order, displayed in York Minster. Here every part is ornamented, and yet no ornaments appear redundant or crowded, none but what seem to have their use, and to be duly subordinate to the proper effects of the sacred fane, namely, awfulness and devotion. The massive columns, which principally sustain the stupendous pile, are so judiciously divided into clusters as to appear comparatively slender. The tallest shaft in each of them, rising to about two-thirds of the perpendicular height of the lofty groins, is there crowned with a sculptured historic or hieroglyphic capital. From this spring three

principal ribs, which diverge, at their respective knots, into other shorter ribs, after a simple but elegant design of tracery, so as to give the appearance at once of lightness, beauty, and height to the towering canopy which they support. From the same tall shaft proceed two lateral ribs, which meeting in a point with similar ribs from the adjoining columns, form the arches of the beautiful windows of the nave. The mullions of these windows, being continued down to the bottom of their story, by an unusual but happy contrivance, form those of the light and uniform triforium or gallery. Other shafts of the main cluster sustain the springers, which support the well-turned arches of the intercolumniations, while additional springers, meeting with cor-

responding ones from the clusters in the walls of the aisles, produce their enchanting long-drawn vistos. Answering to the open intercolumniations are the windows of the aisles, rich with elegant tracery, but not obstructed by it. As the windows of the nave, by means of the mullions of the open gallery, are continued down to a line just over the crown of the main arches, so the dado or open space beneath the windows of the side aisles, down to the stone seat near the pavement, is enriched with an appropriate arcade of the most elegant stall-work. In short, as no spectator, who has eyes to see and a soul to feel, would wish a single ornament in the Minster nave to be removed or altered, so, it is presumed, that no judicious ob-

server would recommend the addition of a single new ornament to it; and still less the gorgeous vaulting of King's College, or of Henry VIIth's Chapel.

It must be observed, that the author has preferred interior views of churches, for illustrating the present work, to exterior ones; because whatever pains our ingenious ancestors bestowed on the façades and other outside work of these fabrics, it is certain that their chief art and magnificence was expended on the inside of them; for, as it has been frequently signified, their object was to excite those devout sensations for the sake of which the Pointed Style itself was invented. In this point their ideas differed essentially from those of the Pagan, and also of

most modern architects, whose sacred structures, I mean those in the Grecian style, when viewed exteriorly, often present grand emotions of the mind, which, however, generally die away at the first glimpse of their naked and mean interior.

The claims of our ancestors in both respects, that is to say, both as to the discovery and the improvement of Pointed Architecture, have been warmly contested, of late, by a Divine of extensive reading and acute observation, [a] and by a young Nobleman of the greatest hopes to science [b] both of whom seem to have travelled as well as to have written in order to prove that this style

[a] The Rev. G. D. Whittington. Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France.

[b] See Preface to the above work.

appeared earlier and was carried to greater perfection in France than in England. These pretensions have been opposed with equal warmth and firmness by an Architectural Antiquary, [c] to whom his professional art is more indebted for its illustration, for the preservation of some of its choicest monuments, and for directing aright the public opinion and taste concerning it, than to any other individual whomsoever. There certainly has been too much warmth on both sides. Controversies in general, particularly on scientific subjects, in order to conduct to truth, require to be discussed with coolness and without any mixture of national or other partiality. The author is

[c] Mr. John Carter, Architect. See different numbers in Gent. Mag. 1809-10.

not conscious that he has been influenced by any such temper in the system which he defends. On the contrary, he flatters himself that he has built upon historical and critical evidence alone.

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST as the press is closing, the writer sees certain strictures on Mr. Britton's Architectural Antiquities in the last Quarterly Review, (No. 8,) which, if well founded, must prove fatal to a part of the system contained in the present publication; what the Reviewers say, is as follows: "A powerful "attempt has recently been made, in the valuable "work of Mr. Whittington, to revive and confirm "the supposition of the invention of the Gothic "Style in the East; a supposition, which was "started by Wren, accepted by Lowth, and main-"tained by Warton; and *which seems to receive* "*a further support, from the fact recorded by* "*Matthew Paris, of the employment of captive*

"*Saracens, as labourers under European archi-*
"*tects.*"---The writer has consulted the passage of Matthew Paris, here referred to, which had before escaped him, and finds it to stand thus: "A.D. 1184.---Quo mortuo (Macemut) totus ejus "exercitus fugit, omni pecuniâ relictâ. Rex vero "Portugalensis ex captivis Saracenis dedit servos "qui cementariis ministrarent ad ecclesias re-"parandas; et de pecunia, Sancto Vincentio au-"ream fecit thecam."---The question between the Reviewers and the writer now is, how far this relation of the intelligent monk of St. Albans, proves that the Pointed Style of building was derived to Europe, from Arabia or other Eastern countries, through the Moors of Spain? The writer, for his part, is of opinion, that the quotation, so far from proving this fact, proves directly the contrary. What it asserts is, that the Saracen Chieftain, Macemut, being killed, and his army being dispersed, the victorious king of Portugal devoted the treasures which they left behind them to the construction of a golden shrine for the relics of the celebrated Spanish martyr, St. Vincent, and the captive Saracens to serve the masons, who were employed in repairing the Churches, which had been desolated by the ancestors of these captives. In fact, both the Moors and the Christians of the Western Peninsula were in the habit of making their victories

over each other subservient to the advancement and splendour of their respective religions. Thus when Almansor took Compostella, he forced a considerable number of his Christian captives to carry the bells of the Cathedral Church on their backs to his capital of Cordova; and, by the same rule, when Ferdinand III. of Castile, became master of Cordova in 1236, he obliged a number of the Moors to carry them back to Compostella in the same manner. He also made it a rule to dedicate the spoils which he took in his numerous conquests over these Mahometans, to the advancement of Christianity in one shape or another. Such was the nature and intent of the King of Portugal's decree in 1184, with respect to the emoloyment of his Saracen prisoners. He did not set them to work in repairing the Churches, for any skill which they possessed in a style of architecture, so peculiarly adapted to ecclesiastical purposes, otherwise he would have put Saracen architects and masons in requisition, instead of masons' labourers; but he condemned a certain number of them, as many, we may suppose, as could be so employed, to devote their personal toil to the re-establishment and splendour of the Christian religion.

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A

TREATISE

ON THE

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OF

ENGLAND, &c.

CHAP. I.

The little light which is to be derived from the History of the Middle Ages concerning the different Styles of their Architecture—Still it is from History and coeval Monuments, that certain information in this matter is alone to be obtained—Principal object of the present Treatise—Ambiguity of the terms hitherto employed in treating of the Architecture in question—The writer's opinion on this Subject.

NEXT to the intrinsic beauty and sublimity of the pointed architecture of the middle ages, the circumstance which principally excites our admiration, is the silence of con-

temporary writers, concerning the inventors of it, and the very country where it first appeared. We frequently read in the annals and biographical histories of those times, of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings being built or repaired in a new style of elegance and with additional magnificence; and we clearly discern the emulation which existed among the founders and architects of these structures to outdo each other in the decorations and grandeur of their respective works, which emulation could not fail of producing improvements in an art not then subject to any fixed rules: still there is no record extant to inform us who first broke the architectural semicircle of former ages, into the aspiring arch of the pointed style; who devised to split the ponderous pillar of the established orders, into the light cluster of our Cathedral columns; or who began to ramify the plain mullions of our windows and the ribs of our vaults

into the rich tracery of our bays[a] and groins. It is even still a subject of controversy to what part of the world we are to look for these singular discoveries. But, indeed, the same mist of obscurity hangs over the origin of bells, organs, clocks, painted glass and other important inventions of the ages, injuriously called *the dark ages* by the vain and superficial one in which our lot is cast. Thus much we may gather with certainty from this very silence of our religious ancestors and their general indifference with respect to posthumous fame, that they were more anxious about being good and useful than appearing so.

Still it is from the records and monuments of the ages in question, and not from the fanciful theories or unsupported decisions of modern architects or other writers that such light as can be collected concerning these matters is to be obtained. Perhaps, after all,

[a] Bays or days the ancient name for separate lights in a window.

this light, though dim and unsteady, may be found sufficient to lead the careful and unprejudiced inquirer to a satisfactory conclusion on the principal points in discussion. But then the records which are consulted ought to be coeval, or nearly so, with the works they mention; or, if borrowed from later writers, these ought to be men of such acknowledged learning, judgment, and fidelity, as to be entirely depended upon.

Then, as to the monuments, there must be sufficient evidence that they are the genuine unaltered productions of the æras to which they are attributed. For so numerous have been the changes in most ancient structures, either from alterations of the style, or from the necessity of reparations, that without the greatest judgment and knowledge in these matters, as well as the nicest and most jealous attention to them, we are constantly exposed to the grossest anachronisms and other errors in pronouncing upon them. On this account coeval medals, carvings, mo-

saics and paintings, representing ancient buildings, frequently afford better evidence as to their former state than the actual sight of the originals do, as being free from those alterations to which the buildings themselves have been exposed.

The principal object of the present essay, which the author of it has been called upon to undertake both by his scientific allies, and his antagonists, is to ascertain the origin, progress, and orders of the pointed architecture of the middle ages. This, however, cannot be done, in a clear and satisfactory manner, without treating, at considerable length, of the circular style which prevailed in the preceding portion of those ages, and without clearing up the obscurity in which certain celebrated architects and writers have enveloped both these styles by the uncertainty and confusion of their language and ideas concerning them.

The restorers of the Grecian Orders in Italy, by way of disgracing all the archi-

tecture of the preceding centuries, not conformable to them, called it indiscriminately *the Gothic*.[b] In this they have been followed by modern French architects as likewise by Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Evelyn and other English writers, whose ignorance or whose prejudice has even led them to believe that the Goths and other barbarians of the fourth and fifth centuries really invented a new style of architecture which they substituted for that of the Roman monuments they destroyed. The celebrated architect of St. Paul's quotes, with applause, what he calls, "Mr. Evelyns judicious com-" parison of the ancient and modern styles," where the latter says; "The ancient Greek "and Roman architecture answers all the

[b] The Italians more generally called the pointed style by the name of *Tedesco* or *German*, because the specimens of this style which they were best acquainted with existed in Germany; and because the architects who raised the few pointed structures which are found in Italy were mostly Germans. Ciampini, speaking of the canopy of an altar raised in the Old Vatican by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1290, terms it: "Ciborium cuspidatum, Germani operis, cujus architectus fuit quidam Arnulphus." De Sacris Ædificiis a Constant, Magn. Construct. p. 65.

"perfections required in a faultless and ac-
"complished building, and doubtless would
"have still subsisted and made good their
"claim, and what is recorded of them, had
"not the Goths and Vandals and other bar-
"barous nations subverted and demolished
"them, together with that glorious empire,
"where those stately and pompous monu-
"ments stood; introducing in their stead a
"certain fantastical and licentious manner
"of building, which we have since called
"Modern or Gothic: congestions of heavy
"dark, melancholy, monkish piles without
"any just proportion, use or beauty."[c] The architect having thus commended this invective of Mr. Evelyn against Gothic architecture, as being heavy congestions of "monkish piles," goes on to abuse it for possessing precisely the opposite character, where he says: "The irruption of swarms "of these truculent people from the north,

[c] Sir Christopher Wren's Parentalia.

"the Moors and Arabs from the South and "East, overrunning the civilized world, "wherever they fixed themselves, began to "debauch this noble and useful art: when, "instead of those beautiful orders, so ma-"jestical and proper, they set up those "slender and mis-shapen pillars, or rather "bundles of staves, and other incongruous "props, to support incumbent weights and "ponderous arched roofs without entabla-"ture."[d] We shall afterwards see that the celebrated Bishop Warburton, at the same time that he speaks with admiration of pointed architecture, actually ascribes the invention of

[d] Parentalia.—Not very conformable with this idea but in conformity with that of Mr. Evelyn, Sir Christopher elsewhere describes our sublime and beautiful Cathedrals (so much superior as places of divine worship, to all that he could borrow from the Pagan temples) as "Mountains of Stone, vast gigantic buildings, "but not worthy the name of architecture." Ibid.—To the prejudiced and extravagant declamation of one English architect, on this subject, we are glad to oppose the rational and liberal sentiments of another. Sir William Chambers in his work on Civil Architecture, says: "We are indebted to those called Gothic "Architects for the first considerable improvements in construc-"tion. There is a lightness in their works, an art and a boldness "of execution to which the ancients never arrived, and which the "moderns comprehend and imitate with difficulty."

it to the Goths, with the help of the Moors. The same confusion of language prevails among later writers, whose ideas are more correct on the subject than those of the authors just quoted. A late celebrated antiquary who frequently praises the pointed style under the name of Gothic, and who had planned a history of it, positively denies that "Salisbury Catheral is absolutely Go-"thic,"[e] while another architectural critic, of still greater fame and merit, as positively asserts that "Salisbury Cathedral is entirely "in the Gothic style."[f] Certain writers who confess the impropriety of the term *Gothic Architecture*, still persist in applying it to the pointed manner,[g] whilst others, who are indignant at the unjust reproach

[e] The Rev. Thomas Warton, Notes on Spencer.

[f] The Rev. J. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, Sect. V.

[g] The Rev. James Dallaway in his learned Observations on English Architecture, occasionally applies the term Gothic to the Pointed style: while the Rev. G. D. Whittington terms it so in his very title page. See an Historical survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, with a view to illustrate the rise and progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe.

which they conceive is thereby cast upon one of the happiest inventions of the human mind, call it, some the *Norman style*, others the *English style*,[h] these the *Cathedral style*, those the *Pointed style*. The writer long ago expressed his decided preference of the last of these terms,[i] and he is of opinion that the present dissertation will shew its propriety.

[h] See Appendix A.

[i] See "Observations on the means necessary for further illustrating the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages," by the writer, prefixed to Mr. J. Taylor's collection of *Essays on Gothic Architecture*.

CHAP. II.

Decline of Architecture in the Roman Empire—Form of the ancient Basilics and other churches—Decline of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Greek no less than in the Latin Church—The Ecclesiastical Architecture of this Island at its Conversion to Christianity that of Rome, being introduced by Missionaries from that City—Our Saxon Ancestors soon became eminent in Ecclesiastical Architecture, still following the Roman Fashion—Genuine Saxon Architecture difficult to be met with, but Representations of it not uncommon—Vindication of this Architecture from Modern Misrepresentations.

PERPETUAL change is the condition of all human things: accordingly the arts and literature, like the power of the great Roman empire, when they had attained to their utmost height in the Augustan age, began, soon after, to decline from it. This was particularly the case with its architecture. Critics in the Grecian orders remark, that the triumphal arch of Severus is less perfect than that of Titus: whilst the monument of Constantine's triumph over Max-

entius, erected by the senate and people of Rome, is charged with columns, statues, and other ornaments, purloined from the arch of Trajan, and irregularly placed. It was chiefly from about this period, namely, the beginning of the fourth century, when Christianity became the established religion of the civilized world, and when churches were every where opened for the public exercise of it, that the prevailing architecture began to exhibit sensible marks of barbarism.[k]

These churches were not always built from the ground; for in several instances the emperors gave up their palaces and courts of justice, called *Basilics*, for the service of religion. The form of these,

[k] See the medals of the abovementioned tyrant Maxentius, PL. I. *fig.* I. and that of Licinius, who was during some time, fellow-emperor with Constantine, published by Speed in his History of England, and copied in PLATE I. *fig.* II. In the former medal a temple is seen with capitals, bases, and a nebulè moulding, approaching to the zig-zag, which, had they appeared in architecture instead of a medal, would certainly be post-dated many hundred years. In the latter medal we see a highly pointed cornice or canopy over a circular door.

being oblong and surrounded by porticos or aisles, raised upon columns, with galleries very frequently over these, was found very suitable both to the majesty and the uses of religion. Little more was requisite for the latter purpose than to shut up the porticos exteriorly with walls and doors, [l] to cover in the open area in the middle with a roof, where wanting, and to place an altar near the upper end opposite to the bishop's throne, and an ambo, or pulpit, somewhere about the middle of the nave. We shall exhibit an elevation of an ancient Roman basilic in its original state, such as may be expected from a small medal[m]; as also the plan of one in actual existence, which was changed by Constantine into a church. It was formerly called the Sessorian Basilic, and since, the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem. In this plan we shall point out

[l] Appendix B.

[m] Plate I. *fig.* III. It is copied from Ciampini's Vet. Monum. T. 1. pl. xxi.

the principal parts and general arrangement of a church in primitive times, according to the best ecclesiastical antiquaries[n], as far as these were common to the Greeks and the Latins, and to the different forms of the sacred edifices: for some of the churches were built circular or octangular, others in the shape of a cross: still the general form of them was oblong, with a semicircular apsis at the eastern end; and the disposition of the sanctuary, the altar, and the narthex, or penitentiary porch, at least, was the same in all churches.[o]

As a general outside view of an ancient Roman church, we have copied the Mosaic picture of the Church of St. Agnes, which

[n] Montfaucon. Diar. Italic. Le Brun. Liturg. T. 2. Allatius, &c.

[o] See PLATE I. *fig.* IV. Plan of the Church of the Holy Cross, from Ciampini's Vet. Mon. T. 1. pl. iv. compared with those of St. Clement and other churches described by the abovementioned ecclesiastical antiquaries. A A The Apsis forming the Presbytery. B The Bishop's Throne with Stalls for the Clergy. C C The Sanctuary or Chancel. D The Altar. E The Gradus or steps. F F The Nave. G The Ambo or Pulpit. H The Tribune for Women. I The Tribune for Men. K The Narthex or Penitent's Porch. L The Door.

is proved to have been executed by order of Pope Honorius, about the year 621[p]. The Pope is here represented in his dalmatic and pallium, bearing in his hands the present representation of the church of St. Agnes, which was built by Constantine the Great, at the beginning of the fourth century, and repaired as we have said by Honorius early in the seventh. We here see a porch or cloister surrounding the church, and closed up except at the west end, where the entrance into the narthex is barely covered with a curtain, as was the custom in that age, with respect to the first entrance into palaces as well as churches. The porch at the east end sweeps round to form the circular apsis. The windows of the nave are small and round headed, while those of the porches or aisles are square, and the whole sacred structure, which is of the oblong form, is destitute of ornaments.

[p] This is expressed in the inscription under the picture executed in the same Mosaic work. See *fig.* V.

Such, we may venture to say, was nearly the form and disposition of the Saxon churches built by St. Paulinus and our other primitive architects, the cotemporaries of Pope Honorius, at York, Lincoln, Rochester, Dorchester, and elsewhere.

The same decline in the arts which is observable in the monuments of the western empire, particularly after the beginning of the fourth century, is also to be traced in those of the eastern empire[q]. The celebrated Church and Choir of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which, after all that has been said and written about them, cannot be proved to have been rebuilt or essentially changed since they were erected by Constantine's mother, St. Helena, about the year 320, constitute altogether a most noble fabric; still an air of Saxon nakedness and rudeness pervades the whole of them, and the very columns with

[q] The gradual decline of the arts from the fourth down to the twelfth century, when they began to improve in the Greek as well as in the Latin Church, may be traced in Dufresne's Series of Medals published in his Historia Byzantina.

their capitals, &c. though of the Corinthian order, are quite disproportioned, and destitute of entablature[r]. This rudeness of design and execution is still more visible in the boasted church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, in 637, and still existing as a Turkish Mosque. We shall give a partial view of its interior, and another of one of its external porticos. These will convince the architectural antiquary, that the Grecian orders were not much more attended to in their native land during the seventh century, than they were in Italy and France[s].

To speak now of our own country: the Romans were not so completely masters of it, as to allow of their raising any grand structures in it, till their architecture was

[r] See the interior views of the Church and Choir, both of them being, as to their essential parts, circular, in Cornelius Le Bruyn's Voyage to the Levant.

[s] See Pl. 1. *fig.* VI. being part of the exterior porch in front of the building, from Dufresne. Also Pl. 2. *fig.* VII. being a portion of the inside of St. Sophia, copied from a view of the whole, in the elegant work of M. De. D'Ohsson, L'Empire Othoman.

upon the decline. Accordingly we meet with nothing perfect or very elegant in such ruins of their temples, houses, baths, hypocausts, or other erections, as have been discovered in Britain. Afterwards, when the Ostrogoths and Huns overran Italy, the Visigoths and Suevi Spain, the Franks and Burgundians Gaul, and the Saxons Angles and Jutes South Britain, all which invasions took place in the course of the fifth century, these several hordes of barbarians destroyed innumerable monuments of ancient architecture, but they did not busy themselves in raising other structures in their place. It does not appear that they were then acquainted with any of the decorations or uses of architecture beyond what are found in a military tent, or a rustic cabin; and, when they sat down to inhabit the countries they had conquered, instead of teaching the inhabitants a new species of architecture, (which they are supposed by some writers to have brought with them from their na-

tive forests and wilds) they employed these very inhabitants to raise their principal structures according to such knowledge and experience as remained of ancient art. So absurd is the idea that the Goths invented any species of architecture whatsoever, and especially the elegant pointed style!

It would be no less contrary to reason to attribute the invention of that heavy circular manner of building in which our first churches were raised, to the Saxons. It is called the Saxon style, merely because it prevailed during their dynasty in Britain; but, in fact, it is the Grecian or Roman style, having the essential characters of that style, though, in consequence of the general decline of the arts, rudely executed. The truth is, it was introduced with Christianity itself, amongst our ancestors by missionaries from Rome, at the end of the sixth century.

At first, indeed, the new converts made use of such few churches as had been spared

by their fathers when they swept off Christianity, together with the professors of it, the Britons, from the provinces of England; notwithstanding most of these churches had been polluted with the worship of Thor and Woden[t]. When they began to build other churches, they were content, in the beginning, to make them of oaken planks or of wattles, thatched with reeds[u]. Such a

[t] St. Augustine, on his arrival at Canterbury, found a church called St. Martin's, which had been built whilst the Romans were masters of Britain. Bede's Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. 26. There is no reason to doubt that the Pagan temples mentioned in chapter xxx. of the same book, had originally been Christian churches. See also Thomas Rudborne's Hist. Maj. Wint. l. 11. c. 1. Angl. Sacr. &. Mat. West. The latter, speaking of the Saxon invaders, says: "Si qua ecclesia illæsa servabatur (a Saxonibus) hoc magis ad confusionem, nominis Christi quam ad gloriam faciebant. "Nempe ex eis deorum suorum templa facientes profanis suis "ritibus sancta Dei altaria polluerunt." Ad ann. 586.

[u] "Ecclesiam S. Petri (Eboraci) de ligno construxit." Bed. l. II. c. 14. See also Hen. Huntingdonens. l. III. The Cathedral Church of the East Angles, till almost the time of the Conquest, [when it was removed from Elmham to Thetford, previously to its being fixed at Norwich,] was made of wood. "Vir "prudentis consilia (Herebertus de Losinga) vagæ sedis non fe- "rens injuriam; quæ nunc in vico qui Elmham dicitur in *sacello* "*ligneo*, nunc vero apud. Tefordense oppidulum habebatur, "multum sibi locum Norwici comparabat," &c. Vid. Ang. Sac. Vol. I. p. 407. Finian, who had been a monk of the Irish Mo-

church still exists, or did exist not long since, at Greensted, in Essex[x].

It is true, that Edwin, the first Christian king of the Northumbrians, began to build a church of stone in his capital of York, soon after his baptism, namely, in 627, which church enclosed the wooden oratory he had first erected[y]; but we are expressly told by our venerable historian, that he was taught how to construct it by St. Paulinus, the same missionary from Rome who had converted him[z]. It appears, however, that Paulinus did not absolutely despise these wooden fabrics, since he himself built such a one at Catarick, This is plain from the reason which Bede

nastery of Hi, or Iona, becoming Bishop of Lindisfarn, is said to have "built a church, fit for his episcopal see, of sawn wood, "covered with reeds, after the Scottish (that is to say, the Irish) "manner. Fecit ecclesiam, episcopali sede congruam, quam tamen, "more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam com- "posuit atque arundine texit." Bed. l. III. c. 25.

[x] See a view of it in Vetusta Monumenta, vol. 2. plate 7.

[y] Bed. l. II. c. 14.

[z] "Curavit, docente eodem Paulino majorem et Augustiorem "de lapide fabricare basilicam." Ibid.

assigns for the preservation of the altar, when the church itself, soon after its erection, was burnt down by the Pagans, namely, that the altar was made of stone[a]. This same Roman bishop and architect built another church of wood at the Mother of British Christianity, as it was called, the Monastery of Glastonbury, or to speak more properly, he cased the church which had hitherto consisted of wattles or hurdles[b], with boards, and then covered the whole with sheets of lead[c]. This method of

[a] L. II. c. 14.

[b] This instance of building a church in basket-work cannot fail of being acceptable, if it has not already occurred to a learned baronet, who is said to be eagerly following up his new and favourite system concerning the wickerwork origin of pointed architecture. It appears from William of Malmsbury, that the British anachorets of Glastonbury continued to follow their course of life in the fastnesses of their retired island, such as Glastonbury then was, during the whole period of the Pagan Saxon persecution. It is easy to conceive, however, that they must have practised their religion with great secrecy, which accounts for their having nothing better than a wattled hut for their oratory. This was preserved by Paulinus, out of reverence for the holy personages who had prayed in it, when he built a more decent church of wood and metal over it.

[c] Appendix C.

casing whole churches in lead was followed by other architects[d].

Our Saxon ancestors were diligent disciples of their Roman masters in architecture, as well as in every other art and science. St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, in particular, rendered himself famous during the latter part of the seventh century, for the churches which he built at Rippon, Hexham[e], and many other places. The last mentioned church is celebrated by ancient writers, who had seen it, as a miracle of art[f]. He likewise repaired, in the best manner, his Cathedral of York, "covering the roof "with pure lead, and the windows with "glass, in such manner as to prevent the "entrance of birds and rain, and yet to "admit the light[g]." But then this prelate's journeys to Rome, and his visits to the churches there, and the instructions which he received from Archdeacon Boni-

[d] Appendix D.
[e] Appendix E.
[f] Appendix F.
[g] Eddius, c. 16.

face[h], and his engaging Roman workmen to execute his buildings in England[i], are all recorded.

The companion of his first journey to Rome was St. Benedict Biscop, who rendered himself almost as famous in architecture as St. Wilfrid himself, by the grand Monastery and Church which he built at Weremouth, adorning them with religious images and pictures[k], and glazing the windows with glass, which he caused to be made upon the spot. But he, as well as St. Wilfrid, made frequent journeys to Rome, in order to improve his skill in architecture, and to procure from thence various articles he stood in need of for his church, which church he professed to build according to the *Roman fashion*[l]. Hence we are not sur-

[h] Eddius, c. 5.

[i] Appendix G.

[k] Bed. Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth.

[l] Ibid. With the express testimony of Bede and Eddius before our eyes, as to the use of glass windows by our Saxon ancestors in the seventh century, we may judge of the knowledge of Sir

prised to find, that when Naitan, King of the Picts, was desirous of erecting a church in his own country according to the *Roman style*, he should send to Ceolfrid, the friend and successor of Benedict, for architects to build it[m].

Not only the general style, but also the particular members, and even the minute decorations, of what is called Saxon architecture, were, in a general way, brought from Rome. The regular dimensions, the characteristical mouldings, the eggs and anchors, the caulicolæ and volutes, together with the whole of Grecian entablature, were laid aside, or nearly so, both in the

Christopher Wren, in the *History* of Architecture, when he asserts that "the windows of the Saxons were *latticed*. In the same place he says they were *very narrow*, contrary to what every one knows to have been the fact. In like manner he mentions the present Cathedral of Winchester and the Chapel in the Tower of London as having been built *before the Conquest*. Parentalia—Letter to Bishop of Rochester. In a subsequent passage of the same work he says, that "Glass began to be used" at the time when tracery work in windows was invented, which invention did not take place till the thirteenth century!"

[m] Appendix H.

East and in the West, before our Saxon ancestors had learned to build without them.

The taste for the regular orders, and the skill necessary for executing them, being lost, it was natural for the workmen of the times to leave out the more intricate and difficult parts of them, or to supply their place with others more simple and feasible. Hence, in copying the Corinthian order, which they most affected, they cut off the richer part of the foliage, leaving nothing but the stem, or the bottom of it, or else they substituted rude forms of men, animals, or other fanciful figures of easy execution for it. The well-known Saxon mouldings, the chevron or zig-zag, the billet, the cable, the embattled fret, the lozenge, the corbel table, and a variety of such other ornaments as are supposed to be peculiar to Saxon architecture, will be found, on close examination, to have had their architypes in some or other of

the buildings, medals, tessellated pave ments, or sepulchres of Italy, before they were adopted by our ancestors[n].

Though there is reason to believe that a great proportion of the fabric of many ancient churches in this country is of Saxon workmanship, yet, from the various changes they have undergone, it is difficult to ascertain which particular parts are actually so. Such specimens are rather to be looked for in remote and barren situations in the country, than in towns and rich districts: though, even in the country, the poorest churches have, in general, been altered in their windows, and at the East end of them. It is not, however, uncommon

[n] An example of the chevron ornament may be seen upon an inscribed Roman tablet in Gibson's Camden, p. 835. See pl. 2. *fig.* VIII. and of the billet moulding in the copy of a Mosaic in St. Mary's Church of the New City. See Ciampini. tom. II. pl. 53. See pl. 2. *fig.* IX. These being the two most common, and considered as the most characteristical Saxon decorations, they are here engraved. The cable occurs in the tessellated pavement at Colchester and elsewhere. Each one of the other mouldings is to be met with in the Roman Catacombs. [See the plates of Bosius and Arringhi, or in the Mosaics, copied by Ciampini.]

to meet with portals of churches, which, from their known dates, as well as from the manner of their building, may be pronounced Saxon. Such, for instance, is the door way of Essenden Church, near Stamford[o].

These portals are generally round-headed, and contain rude carvings in the circular part, whilst the door itself is of a square form. In other respects, Saxon fabrics are known by their comparatively small dimensions; by the thickness of their walls without buttresses, and the diminutive size of their windows, which have round heads and are without mullions, by certain low cones which frequently cover the towers and flank the corners of the buildings[p]; finally, by the coarseness of the work. But, though we cannot refer to any entire Saxon churches now existing in their ori-

[o] See a representation of it in the Ancient Architecture of England, vol. 1. pl. xx.

[p] Such cones are seen at the East end of St. Peter's Church, Oxford, built by St. Grimbald in the tenth century.

ginal state, yet we can shew genuine representations of them: such, for example, are those on the marble fonts of Winchester Cathedral[q], and of the neighbouring church of East Meon[r]. The latter, in particular, we are sure is a true representation, from the resemblance of it, and the accompanying figures with those of Rheims Cathedral, as it is known to have been built by Archbishop Ebbo in the ninth century[s].

Mr. Bentham, in the celebrated fifth section of his History of the Cathedral of Ely, at the same time that he has thrown much more light than any former writer on the architecture of the middle ages, and has vindicated it from the absurd reproaches of Somner, Stow, and other writers, purporting that the Saxons did not know

[q] See Pl. 2 fig. X. copied from the miscellaneous plate in the author's History of Winchester.

[r] See Pl. 2 fig. XI. copied from Archæolog. vol. x. pl. xxii.

[s] See an engraving of it in Monfaucon's Monarch Franc. pl. 28

how to make stone buildings or to raise arches upon pillars[t], has fallen far short of doing justice to his subject, and has exposed himself to the same reproaches which he makes to the two last mentioned writers. In the first place he denies that the Saxons were accustomed to raise high towers above the roofs of their churches, till about the tenth century[u], and yet a very antient author whom he has elsewhere quoted, Richard Prior of Hexham, describes the church of St. Mary at Hexham, which as well as the neighbouring Cathedral of St. Andrew was built by St. Wilfrid in the seventh century, as being furnished with a tower of a round or cupola form; from which, he says, four porticos or ailes proceeded. From this description we learn that its plan was not unlike the plan of

[t] This section is published apart in Mr. J. Taylor's Essays on Gothic Architecture.

[u] Page 29.

St. Sophia's Church at Constantinople, built nearly about the same time[x], and that the tower resembled the one which we see in the representation of the church of East Meon. The churches of Italy are proved to have had bell towers in the eighth century[y]. But to make an end of the matter; we are assured by that ancient and careful writer, Eadmer of Canterbury, that the ancient Cathedral of that city, as it existed, during the whole Saxon period, had two towers, one over the south, the other over the north transept[z]. The same writer, Mr. Bentham, makes use of other arguments to persuade us that the Saxon architects were unacquainted with the form of transepts or cross-aisles in their churches till the above-mentioned æra, the tenth century.

It would certainly be strange if that form which had been adopted in the east

[x] Appendix I.

[y] Appendix K.

[z] Appendix L.

in Italy[a], and in France[b], during so many prior ages should not have made its way into England during four hundred years after its conversion. But we have seen above that St. Mary's church at Hexham was built in the form of a cross so early as the seventh century, as likewise the metropolitical church of Canterbury. We are likewise informed that the latter church was built after the form of old St. Peters at Rome[c]. Now this, no less

[a] The magnificent church of the Apostles at Constantinople was built by Constantine in the form of a cross; as St. Gregory, Nazianzen, who had frequently seen it, testifies. So was another raised by him at Mambre. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Church, Vol. I. B. 8. Le Brun Explicat. de la Messe, &c.—Hence we discover the mistake of Mr. Whittington, where he says: "It may be doubted whether transepts were adopted in Chris-" tian buildings of the age of Constantine." Append. p. 176.

[b] The church built by St. Cesarius of Arles, in the sixth century, and that of S. S. Vincent, and Anastasius at Paris, were of the same shape. Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. 33.—Bercastel Hist. Eccl. &c.

[c] "Erat ipsa ecclesia (Cantuariensis) Romanorum opere facta, et ex quadam parte, ad imitationem ecclesiæ B. Petri, &c. Eadmer apud Gervas.—The imitation is here restricted, because, no doubt, our Metropolitical Church never was furnished with a double aisle on each side of the nave, like St. Peters. As this celebrated church was so much the object of veneration and of imitation to

than the basilic of St. Paul, which still subsists as it was rebuilt by Theodosius in the fourth century, was certainly constructed in the form of a cross. The same learned writer denies that the use of bells, at least of bells of the larger sort, can be traced higher than the century in question; and he supposes that the introduction of them occasioned the construction of towers to receive them, by way of belfries. It would be strange if our religious ancestors had remained whole centuries without adopting so useful and pleasing an invention of the country

our Saxon ancestors, we shall present the plan and interior view of it from Bonani Temp. Vaticani Hist. See Pl. III. Fig. XII. being the ground plan of St. Peter's at Rome, as it had existed since the time of Constantine till it was taken down by Pope Julius II. copied from the archives of the Vatican. A. The Absis. —+The High Altar.—B. B. The Transepts or Cross Aisles.— C. C. The Nave.—D. D. E. E. The high side Aisles.—F. G. The low side Aisles.—H. The open Court in front of the Church.— I. The Narthex or Penitents Porch or Galilee—K. L. The North and South Porches of the quadrangular Cloister. Fig. XIII. an interior view of old St. Peter's. The exterior of the western façade shews a mixture of what we should call indifferent Norman and pointed work, inserted in the orginal Roman work.

which they so often visited[d]. The use of small bells *nolæ*, in this country, if we may credit William of Malmsbury, may be traced as high as the fifth century[e]. And it is clear from Bede, that even those of the larger kind, *campanæ*, such as sounded in the air, and called a numerous congregation to divine service, were employed in England as early as the year 680, being that in which the Abbess Hilda died[f].

Nothing then is more glaringly absurd than to suppose that the Goths and other barbarous nations who overturned the Roman empire introduced what we call the Saxon or any other style of architecture instead of the prevailing one. It is almost as extravagant to

[d] See the note page 33, concerning the belfry built by P. Stephen.

[e] "Brigida domum, rediens (A. D. 488.) relictis ibi (Glastoniæ,) "perâ, monili, *nolâ*, textrilibus armis, quæ ibidem ad ejus me- "moriam resurvantur." Gul. Malm. de Antiqui, Glast.—"Pa- "triarcha Dewy (David) quatuor muneribus ditavit *insigni nolâ* "&c." Viz. circa an. 500 Ibid.

[f] Appendix N.

say, with the learned Bishop Warburton, that "the piety of the Saxon kings consisted "chiefly in building churches at home, "and in making pilgrimages abroad, espe-"cially to the Holy Land;" and that "they took the whole of their ideas of "architecture from the religious edifices "in Palestine, and particularly from the "church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem." This latter church according to Eusebius, was, as it is still, circular; now this form was exceedingly rare in our churches before the foundation of the Templars, in the twelfth century; on the other hand, not one of our Saxon kings or even prelates is known to have visited the Holy Land. In a word, it is demonstrated that architecture like the other arts of civil life, was inculcated to our ancestors by the Romans in the state in which they themselves practised it. Such was the state of things during the Saxon period, and down to the conquest; but not long after

this period, a new æra in architecture as well as in literature commenced. The most grand and beautiful improvements in the art of building were discovered and executed by those northern people, who have been reproached as the corrupters and destroyers of it. Then the scholars became the masters, and taught proud Italy the little she ever knew of the beauty and sublimity of the pointed style.

CHAP. III.

Devastation of the ecclesiastical structures of England and France, by the Danes and Normans.—Unexampled ardour of these invaders to restore Churches and Monasteries, upon their conversion to Christianity.—Almost all the Cathedrals and Abbeys of England rebuilt by the Normans.—This passion for Ecclesiastical Architecture produces improvements in it, and by degrees THE POINTED STYLE.

During the ninth and tenth centuries the civilized world, particularly the people of these islands and of France, were as much harassed and afflicted by new hordes of northern barbarians, as the former inhabitants, the Britons and Gauls, had been, four centuries earlier, by these very Saxons, Franks, and their kindred tribes, now become the most civilized and humane of christian nations. The latter invaders, who were indifferently called Danes and

Normans,[g] were even more cruel and destructive in their ceaseless incursions than the Goths and Vandals had been; because these were a sort of Christians, being half converted Arians, whilst the Danes and Normans, during the whole of their invasions, were savage barbarians, and professed persecutors of Christianity.[h] Few were the churches or monasteries in England, and throughout a great part of France, which were not demolished or laid waste by their fury. France by entering into a composition with them, and yielding up to them one of her fairest provinces, from this circumstance, since called Normandy, was much sooner delivered from the scourge than England was. This being effected, it is incredible with what ardour the French Princes, Nobles, and Bishops set about

g "Daci qui et Normanni." Hen. Hunting. L. III. "Dani "a suis nuncupantur Normanni, quia lingua corum Boreas North "vocatur." Wilhelm. Lib. I. c. 4. Gemiticensis. De Ducib. Norm. Lib. I. C. 4.

h We are told that during the period in question, the following supplication was inserted in the litany: "A Normannorum furore libera nos Domine."

rebuilding or repairing their churches and other religious edifices. Robert, surnamed the Pious, who succeeded to the throne of France at the latter end of the tenth century, for his own share, built fourteen monasteries, and seven other churches.[i] But he and all the other Christians of that period were far outdone in this respect by the Normans, who from impious barbarians, were now become devout Christians, and the greatest encouragers of literature and the arts of any nation then existing. This appears incontestible from the number of monasteries [that is to say, of the schools, as well as the religious houses of those times] which they then raised. During the reign of our William I. in Normandy, previously to his invasion of England, he himself built two princely abbeys at Caen, that of St. Stephen and that of the Holy Trinity; and his nobles built thirty eight others in that single province,

[i] Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. 59, S. 20.

each of them striving to surpass the rest in the magnificence and elegance of his structure[k]. We may be sure that the prelates were not behindhand with the nobility in zeal for building and repairing religious edifices. The abbeys erected at this time in Normandy, particularly those of Bec and Caen, became the most celebrated schools throughout Christendom, and produced the most able men; as, for example, Pope Alexander II. Lanfranc, and St. Anselm of Canterbury, and particularly the best architects of the age. Indeed most of those Norman prelates, who rebuilt the different cathedrals of England during the latter part of the eleventh century, and the beginning of the twelfth, had

[k] "In illis diebus (Regnante in Normania Gulielmo I,°), maxima pacis tranquilitas fovebat habitantes in Normanniâ, et servi Dei á cunctis habebantur in summâ reverentiâ. Unusquis que optimatum certabat in prœdio suo ecclesias fabricare, &c. Primum igitur ponam ipsum ducem, patrem patriæ, qui monasterium S. Trinitatis, ædificavit Cadomi.—Rogerius de Montegomerii indignans videri in aliquo inferior suis comparibus ecclesias duas nobiliter construxtit, &c." Wilhet. Gemetic. De Ducib. Norm. C. 22.

been educated in one or other of these abbeys. Such were the Normans at the time when they entered England, being without question, the most valiant, magnificent, studious, enterprising, and religious people of the eleventh century; and we must add, they were the very flower of Normandy and the neighbouring provinces, both in church and state, who crossed the sea and settled in our island. The continent was despoiled to enrich England. The effect of this important change in it soon appeared in every sort of improvement, but most of all in architecture[1]. The great ecclesiastical benefices, as may well be supposed, very quickly became filled with Normans. When, having wealth at their command, they did not fail of indulging, to the utmost, their passion for erecting grand churches and monasteries. In a very short time almost every Saxon cathedral, some of which had been but lately rebuilt, was

[1] Appendix L.

demolished and replaced by a new one on a grander scale, and in a more noble style. At one and the same time these vast and costly works were carrying forward by Mauricius in London, Lanfranc at Canterbury, Thomas at York, Walkelin at Winchester, Gundulph at Rochester, Remigius at Lincoln[m], William at Durham, St. Wulstan at Worcester[n],

[m] This prelate having removed his see from Dorchester to Lincoln, chose for the model of his new cathedral that of Rouen, which had been rebuilt a little before by Archbishop Maurillus, who had been a monk of Fescamp, in Normandy. This church was dedicated three years before the Norman Conquest; namely, in 1063. "Remigius, constitutâ ecclesiâ, et salubriter constitutâ "juxta ritum Rhotomagensis Ecclesiæ quam sibi in singulis, "quasi exemplar, elegerat, &c." Girald. Cambren. in Vita Ep. Linc. Angl. Sac. p. 417. It is well known that a fire took place in this magnificent fabric, during the episcopacy of his next successor but one, Alexander, who himself was one of the greatest architects of his age. It seems, however, clear from Giraldus, that only the roof was consumed.

[n] St. Wulstan, who was a Saxon, though he found himself obliged to follow the general example in rebuilding his cathedral of Worcester in the new style of magnificence, yet appears to have done this unwillingly. When the former structure, raised by St. Oswald, was taken down, the historian tells us: "Lachrimas tenere nequivit et dixit. Nos miseri sanctorum "opera, destruimus ut nobis laudem comparemus. Non noverat "illa fœlicium virorum ætas pompaticas ædes construere, sed

Robert at Hereford[o], Herbert at Norwich, St. Anselm at Chester[p], Roger at Sarum, in short by almost every prelate of every then existing cathedral in England. The abbots would not be outdone by the bishops: accordingly far the greater part of the rich and ample monasteries, such as St. Augustines, at Canterbury,[q] St. Albans,[r] Evesham,[s] Glas-

" sub qualicunque tecto seipsos Deo immolarunt. Nos, e contra " nitimar, ut animarum negligentes curam, accumulemus lapides." Gul. Malm. De Pont. L. 4. There cannot be a stronger proof than this passage affords of the increased magnificence of Norman architecture.

[o] " Robertus de Losinga ecclesiam suam Herefordensem de " novo construxit, et ad exemplar Aquisgranensis à Carolo " Magno extructæ efformandam curavit." Godwin. p. 480.

[p] Hugh Lupus, the great Earl of Chester, sent for St. Anselm, then Prior of Bec, to give directions for the building of the church and monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, which the founder was resolved to fill with monks from Bec. Malm. De Pontif. L. 1.

[q] A. D. 1074. " Abbas monasterie St. Augustini Cantuaræ " Scotlandus, (Normannus,) ad dilatandum monasterii sui tem- " plum largum extendit animum, &c." Gul. Thorn. Chron. Twysd. p. 1790.

[r] " Abbatiam St. Albani, per Paulum Abbatem in eum quo " nunc est statum (Lanfrancus) provexit. Malms. De Pont.

[s] A. D. 1077. Walter, a monk of Ceresia, became abbot of Evesham, and " being taken with the *new way of building*, he

tonbury[t], Malmsbury[u], Ely[x], St. Edmundbury[y], &c. were rebuilt in the whole or in a considerable part of them, with a zeal and an emulation in their builders, which had never before been equalled in any age or country of the world, and which could not fail of leading to improvements in an art not then subject to fixed rules. In short, all the great abbeys throughout the

" destroyed the old church, which was looked upon as one of the finest of its kind in England, and began a new one." Leland Collect. Tom. 1.

[t] Turstin, a monk of Caen, became abbot of Glastonbury in 1077, and began to rebuild the church of the monastery. He was succeeded in 1097, by Herlewin, who had been educated in the same Norman monastery; and who, "conceiving that the church be-" gun by his predecessor did not correspond with the grandeur of " his abbey, took it down to the ground, and began to build a " new one." Antiq. Glaston. Gale. p. 333.

[u] It appears from William of Malmsbury, that some great and expensive works were carried on at the church of his monastery by its Norman abbots, particularly by Warinus De Lyra. De Pontif. L. v.

[x] Vid. Thomam Eliens. Ang. Sac. T. 1. p. 611.

[y] Browne Willis. vol. 1. p. 85. N.B. The church of St. Edmund, at Bury, was not finished and dedicated for the first time till the year 1020, yet such was the rage for Norman improvements, that Baldwin, who became abbot of it only 40 years afterwards, namely, in 1065, took it down and rebuilt it in the prevailing taste. Leland Itin. V. 11. p. 165.

English realm, seem to have been rebuilt soon after the Norman Conquest; that is to say, during the latter part of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth except Westminster, Gloucester, Waltham, and some few others very lately erected, at which time, from the connections of the sovereign and many of the prelates and nobles with Normandy, the refinements of that country had begun to gain a footing in England. A regard for their own safety after the conquest, and the orders of their master, spurred on the Norman lay barons to equal diligence in building castles with that of the great clergy in erecting churches[z].

But in what did this *novum ædificandi genus*, this improved manner of building, introduced by the Normans, consist?—Certainly not in its general style. We have

[z] "Ad Castra construenda (Rex Wilhelmus) omnes fatigabat," Huntingdonens. Vid. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1086. Rudborne Hist. Major. L. v. c. 1.

evident proofs that the general plan of their sacred edifices, as well as their arches, piers, capitals, shafts, bases, mouldings, doors, and windows, was much the same as it had been since the first introduction of christianity into the island; in other words, it was an imperfect imitation of Roman or Grecian architecture. But, in the first place, the dimensions of their structures were, in general, much larger than those of the Saxons had been. We are expressly assured of this by the intelligent Malmsbury[a]; and we have other satisfactory proofs of it. With respect to the length, in particular, of their respective churches, we find, for example, that the Saxon cathedral of Dunwich was only 120 feet long, by 24 wide[b]. In like man-

a "Angli parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absume-"bant. Franci et Normanni amplis et superbis edificiis mo-"dicas expensas agunt." Domi ingentia Ædificia, &c. Malm. L. iii. De Reg. p. 102.

b See the plan and account of it, by Mr. Wilkins, Archæol. V. xii. p. 166.

ner we see, by the vestiges of the ancient cathedrals of Sherborn, Dorchester, and other Saxon churches, that they were in general comparatively small. The celebrated abbey church of Abingdon was only 120 feet long:[c] whereas the magnificent Normans were not satisfied, either in their cathedral or grand abbatial churches, with a length of less than from three to five hundred feet. The cathedrals of York and Lincoln were, each of them built by their Norman Founders, 490 feet long. Walkelyn's church at Winchester, as built by himself, was 500 feet long. The Abbey church of St. Alban, as built under the direction of the great Lanfranc, was 600 feet long;[d] while

[c] Monasticon.—It may be here observed, that most of the churches on the continent, till near the time in question, had also been comparatively small. The celebrated church of St. Agnan, at Orleans, which was dedicated in 1029, was only 252 French feet long. The antient church of St. Clement, at Rome, exclusively of the exterior court and exedræ, was barely 180 such feet; while the wonder of the world, as St. Sophia was considered, independently of the exedræ, is barely 270 French feet long. See the plan of it in Du Frenes Familia Bysant.

[d] Browne Willis, Mitred Abbeys, Vol. I. p. 14.

the high-minded Mauritius, to the surprise even of his contemporaries[e], extended old St. Paul's, of London, to the length of 690 feet[f]. Nor was it only great length, but also great height, that the Norman architects affected. It is true the Saxon church of St. Andrew at Hexham, and perhaps some others, were three stories high[g]; there is, however, reason to conclude from the remains of some Saxon churches, and the representation of others[h], that they were seldom above two stories high, and those not very lofty; whereas the churches built by the Normans frequently rose to the height of 100 feet and more beneath the main beams[i]. The extraordinary height of the walls required buttresses to support them on the outside, and frequently torus's,

[e] Malms. De Pont. Londin.

[f] Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.

[g] "Parietes tribus tabulatis distinctos" Ric. Hagulst.

[h] See the above engravings of the churches, carved on Winchester and Westmeon fonts, &c. Pl. II. Fig. X.

[i] Old St. Paul's was 102 feet. York Minster is 99 feet high, up to the crown of the arches, beneath the girders.—Of course they were much higher before they were vaulted.

running up from the basement to the plates in the inside.[k] These buttresses were, at their first adoption, broad, thin, shelving upwards in regular breaks, and quite unornamented. They are amongst the characteristics of Norman buildings.[l] The Norman work, in general, was executed with much greater firmness and neatness than that of the Saxons. Previously to the conquest, we constantly read of churches, of no long standing, being out of repair; whereas several Norman structures, as for example, the tower and transept of Winchester cathedral, after standing above 700 years, bid fair, with moderate care, to stand as many hundred years more. The Norman windows and portals were much larger, and better proportioned than those which preceded them and were generally supported by columns at the sides; their mouldings also, and other carvings,

[k] This may be seen for example, in the transepts, or cross aisles of Winchester cathedral.

[l] These also may be seen, without any subsequent alteration, on the outside of the North cross aisle of Winchester cathedral.

though not essentially different from those of the Saxons, were far better designed and executed. In short, next to the effect of sublimity, what these ingenious and indefatigable architects chiefly aimed at, in their religious structures, was beauty. An equal attention to these two effects did, by degrees, produce a perfectly new style in architecture, properly called, THE POINTED STYLE, being one of the greatest efforts of human genius, that has been witnessed in the course of ages. But, before we proceed to give an account of the rise and progress of this style, let us examine the theories of other writers on the same subject.

CHAP. IV.

Mistakes of other writers concerning the origin of the Pointed Style—Of Mr. Evelyn—Of Sir Christopher Wren and his followers—Of Mr. Murphy—Of the Rev. Mr. Whittington—Of bishop Warburton.—Of Mr. Smirke, jun.—Of Sir James Hall, &c.

It has been seen above that Sir Christopher Wren, and Mr. Evelyn, speaking generally of the architecture of the middle ages, under the opprobrious term of *Gothic*, describe the pointed, no less than the circular, style which prevailed in them, as being the real invention of Goths and other barbarians. The latter of these writers, as quoted with applause by the former, says, " The Goths " and Vandals, having demolished the Greek " and Roman architecture, *introduced* in its " stead a certain fantastical and licentious " manner of building, which we have since

" called modern, or Gothic,—of the greatest " industry and expensive carving, full of " fret and lamentable imagery, sparing nei- " ther pains nor cost[m]." We here clearly see that Mr. Evelyn, whose ingenuity and judgment are so much applauded by Sir Christopher Wren, in return for the praises the former bestows upon him, confounds together two different, or rather opposite styles, belonging to different periods; the one being as remarkable for its lightness, as the other is for its heaviness ; the one being pointed, the other round, and that he really believes both of them to be the genuine invention of the barbarians who destroyed the Roman empire. It is sufficient for the present purpose to remark, that the Goths and Vandals, who overturned the Empire of Rome, early in the fifth century, were themselves, with their very name, crusht and swept off from the civilized world in the

[m] Parentalia.

course of the sixth century;[n] whereas the pointed style, which is the subject of the present enquiry, by the confession of all writers, did not make its appearance in it till the twelfth century.

At the same time that Sir Christopher Wren commends the system of his friend, he himself departs from it. He will not have this style called *Gothic*, but *Saracenic*; and he professes to trace it, not to the Northern Goths and Vandals, but to the Eastern Arabs and Saracens. He says, "What we now "vulgarly call the Gothic, ought, properly "and truly, to be named Saracenic architec-"ture, refined by the Christians, which first

[n] The Ostrogoths entered Italy, under their king Alaric, in the year of Christ 400, and in the same year the Emperor Honorius yielded up to the Visigoths Gaul and Spain. In 409 the Vandals also established themselves in Spain; whence, in 427, they passed over to the Roman provinces in Africa, of which they soon rendered themselves masters. In 506 Clovis, King of the Franks, extinguished the power of the Goths in France. In 534, the Emperor Justinian put an end to the power and the name of the Vandals in Africa; and in 553 to the power and name of the Goths in Italy. In Spain alone the name of the Goths remained till 713, when Rodoric, its King, was killed, and the greater part of Spain was seized upon by the Moors.

" of all began in the East, after the fall of the " Greek empire[o]. The Holy War gave the " Christians who had been there an idea of " the Saracen works, which were afterwards " by them imitated in the West." This system of a Saracenic origin of the pointed style has, out of mere compliment to the name of its author, been adopted by bishop Louth[p], Riou, Warton, Grose, and the generality of modern writers, who have had occasion to enter upon the subject.

In refutation of Sir Christopher's system, it may be observed that the first, or grand crusade, in which the Conqueror's son Robert, the Earl of Albemarle, and many other Normans and Englishmen, amongst a million of other Europeans of different countries,

o Every one knows that the Greek Empire fell by the reduction of Constantinople and Trebizond, under the arms of Mahomet II. in 1453. But it would be a vain attempt to render Sir Christopher's *history* of Architecture consistent, either with the truth, or with itself.

p See his account of the architecture of Winchester Cathedral, in the Life of William of Wykeham, and the observations on this account, in the author's History of Winchester, Vol. II.

were engaged, took place in the eleventh century. It began in 1096, and terminated by the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Now nothing is more certain, and evident, than that the crusaders did not bring back with them into England or Europe, a single feature of the pointed style, since the churches built subsequent to that period; as for example, the ancient parts of Exeter[q] and Rochester[r] cathedrals, and the Abbey Church of Reading[s], &c. do not, in their original works, exhibit one of these features. If any individual, of that period, might be expected to have brought back with him into Europe, this supposed Eastern style, it was the celebrated monk of Bec Abbey, Gundulphus, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. He was the most celebrated practical architect of his age[t]. In fact, he built the cathedral church

[q] Built by B. Warwelast, in 1107.

[r] Built by b. Gundulph, about 1100.

[s] A. D. 1125.

[t] "Episcopus Gundulphus in opere cæmentarii plurimum sciens "et efficax erat." Ernulph de Roffen. Ecc. Angl. Sac. Tom. i. p. 338.

and monastery, and also the castle of Rochester, which latter he made a free gift of to William Rufus[u]; likewise Malling Abbey, the chapel within the keep of London Tower, and several other churches. Now this eminent builder had made a journey of devotion to the Holy Land[x], (in company with William, who afterwards became Archbishop of Rouen, and was himself one of the architects of its cathedral) a little before the first crusade, and, of course, surveyed the buildings of that country at his leisure. Yet in vain do we examine his subsisting works at Rochester, and in London, for an arch, a pillar, or a moulding, in the style under consideration. Secondly, from the accounts and drawings of the most intelligent and accurate virtuosi, such as Pocock, Norden, Shaw, Le Bruyn, &c. who have visited the Holy Land, and other countries frequented by the crusaders, it does not appear, as Bentham and Grose

[u] Ernulph. de Roffen. Ecc. Angl. Sac. Tom. i. p. 338.
[x] Monach. Roffen. Vit. Gund. Ang. Sac. p. 274.

remark, that a single building, or ruin, except one church at Acre, is to be found in this style[y], and very rarely such a thing as a mere pointed arch. It has been conjectured that this church was built by some European Christian, and the writer flatters himself that he has discovered the name of this European; and that he was an Englishman, who accompanied the Crusade under our Richard I.[z] In fact the architecture of it exactly corresponds with that of St. Hugh of Lincoln, Godfrey De Lucy, and other builders of that period, having long lancet windows, slender cluster columns, and corresponding ornaments. If we proceed further East, namely into Persia, we find indeed the pointed arch, in a few bridges, and other

[y] See a print of it in Voyage to the Levant, by Cornelius Le Bruyn. p. 164.

[z] "Cum primum Achon obsessa fuisset capellanus quidam, nomine Willelmus, natione Anglicus, votum vovit, quod si, prospero cursu Achon intraret, B. Martyri Thomæ capellam construeret; quod ita factum est." Mat. Paris, A.D. 1190. Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Henry III. left money to this church.

public buildings: but we have no records to attest the date of any of these; and we have otherwise sufficient reason to believe them to be posterior, not only to Gengis Khan[a], in the 13th century, but also to Tamerlane in the 15th, both of whom swept off from that country all its monuments, and a great part of its inhabitants; hence these arches could not have been models of European pointed architecture. In India there are several Mausoleums, and other buildings, with the cinquefoil arch, and other decorations, which might seem to belong to the latest order of the pointed style. But these are confessedly of a very recent date.[a] There is no account at all of the building of the temple of Madura, which also has some resemblance with our pointed architecture[b]. It appears, however, not to be very ancient. The original style of India, as it appears in their stupendous excavations, and other an-

[a] See Daniel's Indian Views.

[b] Ibid.

cient works[c], is much the same with the primitive style of Egypt. The columns are circular, with huge heavy capitals and bases, still not without pretensions to ornament[d]. After all we may safely pronounce that these specimens in Egypt, the mother country of Athens, were the origin of the Grecian orders, and the primeval architecture of mankind.

Mr. Murphy, to whom the admirers of pointed architecture are indebted for his elegant views of the church of Batalha in Portugal, with his account of it, conjectures that the idea of pointed architecture was borrowed from the pyramids[e]. This is to trace its origin to Egypt. But the pyramids may be said, upon an average, to have been raised 3000 years ago ; whereas pointed architecture is not yet 700 years old, and they

[c] See Daniel's Views.

[d] See in Pocock's Travels the columns at Carmach in Egypt; and in the late work of Denon, the French Sçavant, the ruins of the temples of Hermopolis, Thebes and Elephantis.

[e] Introductory Discourse on the principles of Gothic Architecture.

were forgotten, and almost unknown, at the time when it appeared. Again, pediments and gable ends must have been coeval with building itself, in every age and country; and therefore may be called the parents of pointed architecture, with more apparent reason than the pyramids. A circumstance, much more favourable to the pretensions of Egypt, is, that there is an ancient hall in the castle of Cairo, called Joseph's Hall, with regular high-pointed arches, and corresponding columns[f]. The inhabitants suppose this to have been built by the Patriarch Joseph; but Niebuhr, and Lord Valentia, give sufficient reason to suppose that it was built by the great Saladin, the rival of our Richard I. whose real name was Jussuff, or Joseph[g]. In this supposition, we may safely say that he employed some of his European prisoners, or other stragglers from the third

[f] See the View of it, by Mr. Salt, in Lord Valentia's Travels; also Luigo Meyers' Views.

[g] Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. p. 311.

crusade, to erect this hall in the pointed style of the age.

It appears from a work lately published[h], that an ingenious young writer, the Rev. Mr. Whittington, and his Right Honorable Editor, have surveyed, (by means of prints) the architecture of the East, with different eyes from those of all former writers and travellers. The latter says, "All Eastern buildings, as far back as they go, have pointed arches, and are in the same style.[i]" "If a line be drawn from the north of the Euxine, through Constantinople to Egypt, we shall discover, in every country to the eastward of this boundary, frequent examples of the pointed arch, accompanied with the slender proportions of Gothic Architecture[k]."

[h] An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, quarto, 1809.

[i] Pref. p. 6.—Denon, who is an accurate observer, and writes from what he has seen, speaking of the Turkish Architecture, says, "Every province has its own taste: it has no fixed principles or rules."

[k] Ibid. p. 11.

It is impossible to conceive upon what ground the writer makes this strange assertion, except on account of the misshapen minarets and obelisks, which the Mahometans add to their mosques, for the conveniency of calling upon the people from them to come to prayer, as they reject the use of bells. The writer acknowledges that he does not know the dates of these erections, nor is it of any consequence to the present question that they should be known. Thus much, however, we know, that the edifice of St. Sophia at Constantinople, erected in the seventh century, (which he acknowledges to have been the model of the Mahometans, since they became masters of it, in the 15th century, in building their mosques) has neither a pointed arch nor a pinnacle in the whole of its original work[1]. But, adds this writer, " Is it at all pro- " bable that the dark ages of the West,

[1] See Views of it in Du Cange's Famil. Bysant. also Pl. II. *fig.* VII.

" should have given a mode of architecture " to the East[m]?" If there is any force in this suggestion, we may, with equal reason, deny that bells, organs, the gamut, or musical scale, optical glasses, gunpowder, the compass, printing, &c. were discovered in the dark ages of the West, and we ought to search amongst the barbarians of the East for their invention. The fact is, that between the fifth and the sixteenth centuries, the most enlightened was that in which pointed architecture was discovered; namely, the twelfth century; and that during this, particularly in the reigns of Henry I. Henry II. and Richard I. the natives of this realm, which then included the finest provinces of France, were, without dispute, the greatest people existing.

Bishop Warburton, whose bad success in accounting for the origin of Saxon Architecture, has been seen above, speaking of the

[m] Pref. p. 6.

pointed style, endeavours to unite the two refuted systems, that which derives it from the Northern Goths, and the other which brings it from the Eastern Saracens, at the same time that he assigns the Western peninsula of Europe (Spain) for the place of its birth. The following is what he says on the subject: "When the Goths had con-
"quered Spain and the genial warmth of the
"climate, and the religion of the old inhabi-
"tants had ripened their wits and inflamed
"their mistaken piety, (both kept in exer-
"cise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens,
"through emulation of their service, and
"aversion to their superstition) they struck
"out a new species of Architecture, unknown
"to Greece and Rome. For this northern
"people, having been accustomed, during the
"gloom of paganism, to worship the Deity in
"groves, (a practice common to all nations)
"when their new religion required covered
"edifices, they ingeniously projected to
"make them resemble groves as nearly as

" the distance of architecture would " permit; at once indulging their old " prejudices, and providing for their pre- " sent conveniences, by a cool receptacle " in a sultry climate; and with what skill " and success they executed their project, " by the assistance of Saracen architects, " whose exotic style of building very luckily " suited their purpose, appears from hence, " that no attentive observer ever viewed a " regular avenue of well grown trees, inter- " mixing their branches overhead, but is " presently put in mind of the long visto " through a Gothic cathedral, &c[n]." Having amused ourselves with this reverie, let us now attend to facts. The Goths and Vandals entered Spain in the year 409: they did not, however, acquire " a new religion there " from the old inhabitants," for they were previously Christians, though Arians. On the other hand, the Moorish Saracens did not enter Spain till three hundred years af-

[n] Notes on Pope's Epistles

terwards, namely, till the year 712, and they ever afterwards continued in a state of the most determined hostility against the Christian Spaniards, whom they cooped up in the mountains of Asturias. It is easy to gather, from these simple facts, the multiplied and gross errors of Bishop Warburton's system. Let us, however, suppose, in conformity with this system, that the Spanish Goths had retained an idea of their pagan worship in the woods of Germany, during 400 years, till the arrival of the Moors ; and that, afterwards, they kept to themselves the secret of pointed architecture, during 400 years longer : certain it is that when once this system broke in upon the English and the French, in the twelfth century, it would have made its appearance at once amongst them, with all its characteristical features of equilateral pointed arches, connected cluster columns, crocketed pinnacles, and the other dressings of this style, contrary to what we know to be the

fact. With respect to the inhabitants of the Western peninsula, so far from their practising tracery work, imitating the interlacing of trees, several hundred years before our ancestors; it seems that the latter were their masters in the art of executing this above two hundred years, after they themselves had learnt it; since a subject of this kingdom was chosen to direct the building of the above-mentioned magnificent church of Batalha, in the fourteenth century°. After all, the intersection of tracery work is almost the only circumstance in which it resembles the intermixing boughs of trees growing together. The ribs of a groin do not grow smaller, as they extend

° It was built by John King of Portugal, in 1388, David Hackett, an Irishman, being the principal architect. See Murphy's account. We admire the style of Batalha, as a pleasing variety from our cotemporary buildings of Winchester cathedral, St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, &c. but we by no means put it in comparison with them, upon the general principles of beauty and sublimity. The boasted cathedral of Burgos, built in 1221, is more gorgeous but by no means so elegant as its cotemporary cathedral of Salisbury, and far less awful than our more ancient cathedral of Lincoln.

themselves like vegetable shoots, nor do the latter, when they cross each other, form large knobs like the bosses of architecture. Again, the trunk which supports the boughs is generally a simple upright, not a cluster of supporters; nor has it any thing resembling either capitals or bases.

Having followed different guides North, East and West, in search of the primitive pointed style, we have latterly been invited by an ingenious artist to accompany him to the cradle of modern arts in the South, namely, to Italy, with the promise that he will there point out to us much earlier specimens of this style than our Northern climates afford. In the year 1805, Mr. Smirke, junior, laid before the Society of Antiquaries, certain drawings, since engraved[p], of the dressings of a window belonging to the cathedral of Messina,

[p] Archæologia, Vol. XV. p. 363, &c.

in the richest and most elegant taste of the third or last order of the pointed style. These he represents as the work of Roger Earl of Sicily, in the eleventh century. He presented another drawing of the celebrated baptistery of Pisa, avowedly built by Dioti Salvi in 1152 [q], consisting of what we should call Roman and Saxon work, intermixed with crocketed pediments and pinnacles, such as were not in use amongst us till the thirteenth century. Lastly, Mr. Smirke exhibited a view of the beautiful Cloyster of the Campo Santo, adjoining the cathedral, and erected in the year 1278. Here we see the richest tracery mullions under semicircular arches, being a mixture of styles which never prevailed at any period whatever in these countries. These exhibitions seem to have gained

[q] It was begun in 1152 and finished in 1160. We have a full and interesting history and account of the cathedral, baptistery and Campo Santo of Pisa, enriched with excellent plates, by Joseph Martini, a canon of that cathedral, in his Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ. Folio.

many partisans to the claim of Italy, and amongst others, to a certain degree, the ingenious Mr. Dalaway, who says, " The " Baptistery at Pisa, by Dioti Salvi, is " the great prototype of arches, pedi- " ments, and those ornamental particles " which are now confined to the Gothic " style[r]."

It has been already observed that there is no error which the architectural student has so much to guard against, when he surveys ancient buildings, as the confounding of subsequent alterations with the original work. There are few critics in this matter who would not start at the first sight of Mr. Smirke's drawings as at a creation of fancy, or an incongruous assemblage of works executed at periods considerably distant from each other; but it was reserved for Sir Henry Englefield's profound knowledge of the subject and critical acumen to detect the pointed en-

[r] Observations on English architecture. Pref. p. 4.

richments with which some later architect has decorated the plain circular work of Dioti in the Baptistery and of John of Pisa, in the Campo Santo.

This he has done to the entire satisfaction of his scientific readers[s]. In confirmation of this learned gentleman's remarks, we find that in the year 1303 [with the style of which period these additions very well agree] an architect, one Burgundius Taddi, added some new members to the exterior of this building, as an inscription upon it still testifies[t]. By way of supporting his system, in favour of the Italic origin of pointed architecture, Mr. Smirke next brought forward the upper part of the pediment of the cathedral itself, built by Bruschettus, a century before the building of the Baptistery, namely, in 1063[u]. This

[s] Archæol. Vol. XV. p. 367, &c.

[t] Theatrum Basil. Pisanæ p. 14, &c.

[u] The Church of St. Mark, at Venice, was built about the same time with that of Pisa, namely, in 1071, in the form of a

pediment consists of narrow circular arches, supported by Grecian columns, and surmounted with a coping, charged with crockets, and three elegant and spirited statues. With the exception, however, of the usual triangular form of the pediment and the crockets, which Mr. Smirke, may possibly, from the imperfection of his original sketches, have placed in a situation to which they do not belong[x]; there is not a

Greek cross surmounted with cupolas. It was evidently formed on the model of the Church of St. Sophia. The same operation has been performed upon it as upon the baptistery and cupola of the Cathedral of Pisa, namely, crocketed pediments and pinnacles have been inserted in it. In consequence of its present appearance, Sir C. Wren calls it *a Saracen church.* But the critic who can admit that these pointed ornaments belonged to the original structure, is capable of believing that the four famous horses by Lysippus, which have followed the course of victory from Greece to Rome, thence to Constantinople, thence to Venice (where during many ages they adorned the portal of this church) and lastly to Paris, made part of it's original design of St. Marks.

[x] Should Mr. S. still contend that the crockets are actually seen on the coping of the pediment, and (which is the only question of any consequence) that they formed part of the original work of Dioti, then he must equally say, that the three elegant and spirited statues which now ornament it, are the pro-

feature in this pediment which belongs to the pointed style any more than there is in the general style of the exterior and interior of the church itself, and of the campanile or leaning tower, which latter was built by William, a German architect, in 1174. Together with the abovementioned drawing of the pediment, Mr. Smirke presented one of the church towers of Li Frari, at Venice[y]. This shews the circular arch and the intersecting circular arch, together with the corbel table, &c. in its uppermost story, with rows of slightly pointed arches in the three lower stories. But what is the date of this tower? The ingenious artist tells us that it was begun in 1234, a period corresponding with the building of Salisbury cathedral. In a word, this plate, instead

duction of the year 1063!—The fact is, the whole roof of this magnificent structure, from the cupola to the West end, was burnt down in 1569, as Martini informs us, with which date (on repairing the cathedral) the style of the statues, &c. perfectly well agrees.

[y] Archæol. Vol. XV. p. 25.

of proving that the Italians were beforehand with us in pointed architecture, shews how much they were behind us both as to time and execution. Indeed Mr. Smirke himself acknowledges that, " the examples " of the pointed kind are in a more mixed " and unformed character of design in Italy; " a defect that may be ascribed to the aspect " which the face of that country, different " from all others, formerly presented with " regard to more ancient architectural re- " mains." This passage, if I understand it, means that the Italians never excelled in pointed architecture, being attached to the Roman manner, in consequence of the numerous examples of it they had every where before their eyes: an opinion in which the writer perfectly agrees with the ingenious artist [z].

[z] Amongst the several altars and tombs in the pointed style which existed in the Old Vatican, and which are exhibited by Ciampini, being all of them very imperfect and poor, we have selected the tomb raised by Boniface VIII. because the name of the architect and its date, 1290, are ascertained. See Pl. IV. *fig.* XV.

Other systems respecting the origin of pointed architecture, do not seem to affix it to any particular country, and are still more fanciful than those which have been examined. Sir James Hall, Bart. having observed that wands which are bound fast to posts, fixed in the earth, may be so bent and fastened together as to represent cluster columns and tracery vaulting, thinks the idea of pointed architecture was some where or another borrowed from the sight of such basket work[a]! Lord Orford, quoted by Mr. Dallaway, says, that "The "style was first peculiar to shrines, and "then was peculiar to churches[b]." But where did the shrine makers learn it? Mr. Payne Knight makes an absolute medley of the business, pronouncing that, "The "style of architecture, which we call "cathedral or monastic Gothic, is mani-

[a] Essay on the origin and principles of Gothic Architecture, in the Transac. Royal Soc. Edinburgh, Vol. III.

[b] Observations on English Architecture, p. 5.

" festly a corruption of the sacred archi-
" tecture of the Greeks or Romans, by a
" mixture of the Moorish or Saracenesque,
" which is formed out of a combination of
" Egyptian, Persian, and Hindoo [c] !"

[c] Enquiry into the principles of Taste, p. 162.

CHAP. V.

The real origin of the Pointed Style—The occasion, time, and place of its invention.

But why should we wander into every remote country in the known world, and into the regions of fancy, in search of an invention which belongs to our own climate? And for what purpose should we take so much pains to prove a plant to be an imported exotic which we actually see sprouting up and attaining its full growth in our own garden? Let us now go back to the point from which we started, for the purpose of running down the different false systems. We have seen that the greatest people, without dispute, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the conquerors of France, England, Italy, Sicily, and of

different countries in the East, namely, the Normans, were possessed of the most ardent passion for ecclesiastical architecture of any nation upon record, and that they vied with each other in the grandeur and beauty of their respective structures. For the former of these effects, grandeur, we observed that they gave to their churches the greatest length and heighth in their power; for the latter, beauty, they enriched them with a variety of architectural ornaments, several of which appear to be of their own invention. The most common of these was the arcade, or series of arches with which some of their buildings [as for example, the outside of St. Osyth's and St. Botolph's conventual churches in Essex[d], and the inside of Durham, on the basement story] were covered over, and which occur more or less on all their cathedral and conventual churches extant. These arcades were diversified many ways, as

[d] See Pl. V. *fig.* 24, 25.

may be particularly seen on the tower of St. Augustine's monastery in Canterbury, built by its first Norman Abbot, Scotlandus, in 1080[e]. One of these varieties consisted in making the semicircular arches (such as all nations, Grecians, Romans, and Saxons, had hitherto built) intersect each other in the middle[f]. The part thus intersected formed a new kind of arch, of more graceful appearance and far better calculated to give an idea of height than the semicircular arch: for every one must be convinced that a pyramid or obelisk,

[e] Chronicon. Will. Thorn apud Twysd. Col. 1789.

[f] There is no proof that Tickencote and other ancient churches on which these intersecting arches appear, were built before the Norman conquest, much less that these ornaments are not a subsequent addition; and there is good reason to judge from William of Malmsbury's account of his own monastery in particular, that the intersecting arches still seen there were made by Abbot Warin de Lira, a Norman, in 1080. It is worthy of observation, that in the famous tapestry of Bayeux, representing the conquest of England, and said to have been wrought by the Conqueror's mother, and engraved by Montfaucon and Ducarel, though several churches, palaces, shrines, and other arched work are seen in it, there is not the least appearance of intersecting arches, much less of a pointed one.

from its aspiring form, appears to be taller than the diameter of a semicircle, when both are of the same measure. These plain and intersecting arcades were sometimes placed in alternate rows, as in Remigius's work on the façade of Lincoln cathedral; and sometimes irregularly intermixed, as on the North side of Durham cathedral. The pointed arch, thus formed, appeared at first a mere ornament in basso relievo, as in the abovementioned instances, but very soon it was also seen in alto relievo, over niches and recesses in the inside of churches, as in the remains of the Cathedral of Canterbury, built by Lanfranc[g], and in the ab-

[g] It appears from Gervase, the monk of this cathedral monastery, that Lanfranc rebuilt the whole of it about the year 1085, and that the fire which took place in the roof of its choir in 1174, did not destroy the whole of the parts adjoining to it. From this circumstance and an examination of the work itself, we may safely pronounce that the recess here spoken of in the wall of the South aisle, adjoining the choir, is a remaining part of the work of Lanfranc. Twysd. Col. 1293. This pointed arch, which accompanies other circular ones of the true Saxon fashion, is represented at Pl. IV. *fig.* XVI. It is copied from Pl. XXXVI. Part I. of Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture of England.

bey churches of Glastonbury[h] and Rumsey[i]. It is probable that the first open pointed arches, in Europe, were the twenty windows constructed by that great patron of architecture, Henry De Blois[k], brother of King Stephen, and Bishop of Winchester, in the Choir of the church of St. Cross, near that city; which structure he certainly raised be-

[h] Abbot Herlewin, who died in 1120, began to rebuild the whole of Glastonbury Abbey, as Malmsbury informs us, De Antiquit. Glaston. Ecc. Six years after this date, Henry De Blois became Abbot of it. Hence it is not unlikely that the intermixed pointed and circular work exhibited by Mr. Carter, in the above-mentioned plate, were executed under his directions.

[i] The conventual church of Rumsey, first built by Edward the Elder, was rebuilt by King Edgar; but it was so much augmented and ornamented by Bishop De Blois, whose niece Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, became a nun there, that Warton and other writers describe him as the founder of it. The arches here copied from Mr. Carter, were probably made by him very soon after he built St. Cross. Pl. IV. *fig.* XVII. He seems not to have had either the means or the disposition to raise great buildings after the civil war began between his brother Stephen and his cousin, the Empress Maud.

[k] He is described by his contemporary, Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Copula Tergemina, as a prince of the most active and enterprizing mind, particularly in undertaking works of art, which seemed impracticable to other men. See a specimen of the windows in the choir of St. Cross, Pl. IV. *Fig.* XVIII.

tween the years 1132 and 1136[1]. These consist of openings, made in the intersected parts of semicircular arches, which cross each other. The ocular evidence of this, taken along with the ascertained date of the work, is a sufficient proof that, to the accidental Norman ornament of intersecting arcades, we are indebted for the invention of pointed arches, and pointed architecture. If any man chooses to dispute the proof, he cannot at least deny the fact, that open pointed arches, to the number of twenty, were seen together under intersecting arches, in an English church, between the years 1132 and 1136. As the above mentioned prelate

[1] Godwin De Præsul. Angl. says, that he built St. Cross in 1132, Bishop Lowth, who had examined the archives of this foundation, says in 1136. Probably the choir, which is evidently the older part, and all that was requisite for the use of the original establishment, was begun in the former year, and finished in the latter. The date of 1136 agrees with the testimony of Rudborne, the Monk of Winchester, in his Historia Major, who says, "Hoc "anno, (1136) Henricus Wyntoniensis Episcopus incœpit facere "domos de Wulvesey et alias in maneriis pertinentibus ad episco-"patum Wintoniæ, et similiter Hospitale Sanctæ Crucis juxta "Wyntoniam." See the Author's Histor. Survey, p. 160. Second Edit. See also Appendix O.

proceeded in his building, from the East, or choir end, (which on all such occasions was first erected, and rendered fit for divine service[m]) to the transept, the tower, and the nave of the church, he made many other pointed arches, some of them obtusely[n], others acutely pointed[o]; intermixed, however, with a still greater proportion of circular and other Saxon work. In 1138, he built the Castle of Farnham[p], where his pointed arches, resting on huge Saxon columns, are still to be seen[q].

Nor was the pointed arch during the reign in question, that of King Stephen, confined to the works of his brother, Henry Bishop of

[m] This is agreeable to the remark of Mr. Bentham, in his History of Ely.

[n] Pl. IV. Fig. XIX. [o] Pl. V. Fig. XX.

[p] "Anno 1138, fecit Henricus Episcopus ædificare domum quasi "palatium, cum turri fortissima in Wintonia, Castellum de Mer-"dona et de *Fernham*, &c." Annales Ecc. Wint. Auctore Monacho Winton. Angl. Sac. T. I. p. 299.

[q] These very interesting remains were first noticed by that indefatigable antiquary, Mr. Carter, and are represented by him, in his Ancient Architecture, Part. I. Plate 65. They are copied in our Pl. V. Fig. XXI.

Winchester; for Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester and Litchfield, introduced it into the church of the latter city, the greater part of which he rebuilt, and also into the abbey of his foundation at Bildwas, on the banks of the Severn, in Colebrook Dale. In the ruins of this interesting monastery, which was built between the years 1136 and 1139[r], as also in those of Lanthony Abbey, Gloucester, built at the same period, we see the lancet point in all the arches of the nave, under round headed Saxon windows, intermixed with the chevron billet, and other characteristics of Saxon Architecture.

If we may give implicit credit to the drawings and the authorities of Grose, the Scotch were not long in adopting the new

[r] Richardson, apud Godwin, assigns this year, quoting the Monasticon. Dugdale himself, Vol. III. p. 779. cites both the annals of St. Werburg, and those of Peterborough [Bib Cot,] for the year 1136, as that of the foundation. Probably the building was begun in the one, and finished in the other. The Abbey of St. Mary, near Dublin, was made a cell to Bildwas, by authority of Henry II. The remains of Bildwas very much resemble those of Lanthony Abbey, Gloucester; which, as appears from Dugdale's evidences, was founded in 1136. See the latter in Pl. V. Fig. XXII.

style of the English, which was probably introduced amongst them by David, their King, who came into England to command the army of his niece, the Empress Maud, against King Stephen. Thus much is certain, that Kelso Abbey, founded by him before he came into this country, namely in 1128, affords no specimen of the pointed arch, whilst other abbeys and churches in Scotland, built soon after his return home, present much the same mixture of round and pointed arches, as occurs in all the sacred edifices of that period in England.

A late writer, whose professed object was to transfer the palm of pointed architecture from the English, and Norman English, to the French, [which palm the French themselves are in the habit of attributing to our countrymen[s]] asserts that the pointed arch

[s] Historical Survey of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in France, by the Rev. G. D. Whittington. The received tradition, throughout all the northern provinces of France, is, that almost all their grand churches were built by the English. This testimony of the author is confirmed by Major Anderson, who surveyed these provinces with the eye of an antiquary, in 1801, and who mentions the churches

was adopted in the Abbey church of St. Denis, near Paris[t], begun in 1137, and finished in 1144, before any instance of it occurred in England. But this we have proved to be a palpable error, by the works and dates referred to above. In the second place, the writer admits, that this very church of St. Denis, was rebuilt from the ground, in 1231; and though he says, that

of Notre Dame, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, and St. Nicaise, as being attributed to English architects. This proves, at least, the high reputation in which English architects were held in France, at the time of the introduction of pointed architecture.

[t] This writer describes the apsis, or circular part, at the East end of the Abbey church of St. Germain at Paris, as consisting of pointed arches; which, he says, were adopted from "accident "and necessity." p. 87. This is giving up his system, as to their Eastern origin. Again, this alledged necessity is a mere imagination, as will be seen in the circular arches in the apsis of the chapel of the Tower, built by Gundulphus, before 1100. The writer mentions this church of St. Germain, as having been "finished, nearly as it exists now, before 1014;" and yet he says, "it was not dedicated till 1163." It is evident that he has either mistaken the sense of his French authors, or that they themselves were not entitled to credit. Would the monks of that abbey forego the use of their finished church, during 150 years, or perform divine service in one not dedicated, when their own, or any other bishop, could have performed this ceremony, as well as the Pope himself?

some portions of the old building were preserved, it is plain he is unable to ascertain which these are. Thirdly, in the painted windows of this church, as represented by the learned Mountfaucon, who says they were executed under the directions of Abbot Suger, in 1140[u], we have a continued series of the first crusade, in which a great number of arches are seen: but, in none of them is there the least appearance of the point. This is a double-edged sword against the writer's system. It proves that the painter was equally unacquainted with the pretended Eastern origin of the pointed arch, and with its alleged adoption in the church he was then ornamenting. Lastly, the many instances of mistake and prejudice, which occur in the posthumous work

[u] See Plate L. with the four following ones, and Montfaucon's explanation of them, in his Antiquities of the French Monarchy.

under consideration, prove the writer's haste and want of reflection, when he wrote it.[x].

[x] Amongst the instances of the writer's prejudice may be placed his denial of the existence of St. *Genevieve,* whose " name," he says, " is, probably, a corruption of *Janua Nova.*" This etymology reminds us of Swift's derivation of *Peloponnesus,* from *Pail-up-and-ease-us.* St. Genevieve's name was well known in the East, as well as in the West, during her life-time; and frequently occurs in the life of her cotemporary, the celebrated St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, written by Constantius; who, as well as the writer, lived at the same time with her. It occurs likewise in all the original histories we have of Clovis, King of France. A chapel of wood was built over her tomb, soon after her death, about the year 512; and in the following century, the famous St. Eloy made a costly shrine for her remains.

CHAP. VI.

Progress of the Discovery—Formation of the First Order of this Style.—Description of the East End of Canterbury Cathedral.

To return now to the subject of intersecting arches; these were sometimes plain semicircles crossing each other, as on the South transept of Walkelyn's church at Winchester[a], and on the façade of St. Botolph's church, Colchester[b], in which they form a mere pointed arch, or else they were intersecting semicircles resting upon pillars, with a capital, or at least an abacus, by way of an impost, as on the North transept of Durham[c], the façade of Lin-

[a] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXIII. [b] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXIV.
[c] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXV.

coln, &c. In the latter case they present the appearance of a pointed arch, with the lateral points or *cusps*, as Sir James Hall has very aptly called them[d]. This ornament, during a considerable time, was only used occasionally, but, in the end, its use became universal. The addition of another cusp on each side of the pointed arch, turned its trefoil head into a cinquefoil. In like manner, four cusps being introduced into that circle or Oeil de Bœuf, which the Saxon, as well as the ancient Roman and Greek architects, had been accustomed to place in the tympanum of their pediments, formed a quatrefoil rose or cross. By an additional number of cusps, Catharine-wheel or marygold windows were easily produced. But these did not make their appearance till the beginning of the thirteenth century. During the latter part of the twelfth, a strange mixture of styles

[d] Essay on the Origin of Gothic Architecture. See Transac. Edinburgh. Philos. Soc.

prevailed in the numerous ecclesiastical buildings which were then going forward, as might be expected when an old style began to be exploded and a new one was in the act of formation. This would not have been the case had the latter been copied from established models in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Spain, or elsewhere. Pointed arches were every where intermixed with circular ones [e]. The former were more generally placed upon massive Saxon pillars, and were, in some few instances at first, very obtuse, as in the intercolumniations at St. Cross[f], or what was almost always the case, they were exceedingly acute, as in those of the neighbouring church of St.

[e] A great number of these architectural varieties and intermixtures are exhibited by Mr. Carter in his rich treasury of architectual antiquities cited above. See Plates XXXVI. and XXXVII. &c. Most of these he demonstrates to have been originally so constructed, having been occasioned by what he calls the struggle between the circular and pointed styles.

[f] See Pl. IV. *fig.* XIX.

Mary Magdalen on the Hill, raised about the year 1174[g].

It is matter of evidence that the pointed arch was used in England a considerable time before any other member which is now considered as belonging to the pointed style. It could not, however, long escape the observation of our ingenious architects, that the ponderous circular pillar ill accorded with the light and aspiring pointed arch. Accordingly, towards the close of the century in question, the Saxon column, in some instances, began to be shaped into the form of the Arabic figure 8, so as to retain its former strength and yet to appear gracefully slender; and where columns were used for decoration rather than for strength,

[g] See Pl. VI. *fig.* XXVIII. Mr. Whittington maintains that "the slender proportions" of the style in question, by which we presume he means cluster columns, pinnacles, &c. were borrowed from the East, together with pointed arches; and yet it is demonstrated that the former did not appear in England or France till a considerable time after the latter, and that they made their way by slow degrees. See the foregoing figures.

as to support ornamental arcades and the architraves of windows, very thin ones, and those, for the most part of Purbec marble, were adopted. We have a striking example of these and other improvements in the pointed style before our eyes at the East end of Canterbury cathedral, which was rebuilt between the years 1175 and 1180, under the direction of William of Sens, and of another architect of the name of William. It is an incomparable advantage for forming a right idea of the rise of pointed architecture in this country, that we are possessed of an accurate comparison, made by an intelligent eye-witness, Gervase, a monk of this cathedral, between the choir part of the church built by Lanfranc, who was an architect as well as a prelate, about the year 1085 (and which was burnt down in the year 1174) and the said choir part rebuilt by the two abovementioned architects at the distance of about 90 years afterwards [h]. The

[h] Appendix P.

most remarkable things which he mentions are these: that the pillars of the new choir were of the same form and thickness[i] with those of the old choir, but that they were 12 feet longer; that the former capitals were plain, while the latter were delicately carved; that there were no marble columns in Lanfranc's work, but an incredible number in that which succeeded it; that the stones which formed the ancient arches were cut with an axe, but those of the new arches with a chissel; that the vaulting of the side aisles of the choir was formerly plain, but now pointed with key-stones[k]; that the old

[i] He speaks of them as they appear to the eye, namely round, in contradistinction to the square and hexagon piers, which were common in Saxon and Norman churches.

[k] "Arcuatæ & clavatæ." In a former passage he had said: "Clavem pono pro toto ciborio; eo quod clavis in medio posita "partes undequaque venientes claudere et confirmare videtur." Fol. 1298. From this account of the key-stone or boss, which, in forming a pointed groin is the support of all the others, and requires to be made of a particular shape, it is plain that the author speaks of pointed vaulting. It is unaccountable that our great architect should assert, as he does in his Parentalia, p. 297, speaking of the supposed authors of pointed architecture, that "Their arches were pointed *without key-stones*, which they "thought too heavy."

choir was covered with a flat ceiling, ornamentally painted [l], while the new one was elegantly arched, with hard stone for the ribs and light toph stone for the interstices; finally, that there was only one *triforium* or gallery round the ancient choir, while there were two round the modern one. The present state of the East end of Canterbury cathedral still corresponds with the account of Gervase, written above 600 years ago, and is faithfully exhibited by Mr. Carter, from whose plate, with his permission, we shall borrow a copy of it[m]. We still see large well proportioned columns, which appear round to the spectator, when in a proper position, crowned with elegant capitals, nearly of the Corinthian order. Upon the abacus of these capitals rest the bases of slender marble columns, which mix

[l] This is the actual state of the grand abbatial church of St. Albans, and of other ancient churches.

[m] See Pl. VI. *fig.* XXVII. See also an interior view of this portion of Canterbury Cathedral, as it still subsists, Plate VIII.

their heads with those of other marble columns supporting the arches of the principal triforium. From these united capitals branch out triple clusters, which, at a proper height, form themselves into ribs to sustain the groining. The arches on both the upper stories and in the groining are highly pointed[n], as are those also on the basement story, which latter sweep round the Eastern extremity to form the concha or apsis; in short, twenty years before the close of the twelfth century, there was not a member of Saxon architecture to be seen in the whole chancel and choir of the church of Canterbury, except the main arches of the basement story,

[n] It is, however, worthy of remark, that the arches on the upper story alternately take the horse-shoe sweep, embracing more than half a circle. The same is the case with the ribs which support the groining. This form of arch occurs also in the church of Rumsey, the porch of St. Cross, in a side chapel now used as a work shop, in the North transept of Winchester cathedral, &c. The Moors of Spain having late in the thirteenth century acquired some knowledge of pointed architecture, probably from France, parts of which they overran, were particularly fond of the horse-shoe arch. Swinburn discovered upon the Alahambra the date, if I mistake not, of 1276.

which were probably so constructed from an idea of their being firmer than pointed ones, and certain billet-blockings and mouldings, which themselves gave place as the work advanced upwards to what may be called the *quatrefoil moulding*. This moulding, thus introduced, soon became universal, and is a sure criterion of the first order of pointed architecture in its more perfect state[o].

The style adopted in the first metropolitical church of this kingdom, was followed in the suffragan cathedrals as soon as any of them stood in need of rebuilding or repairing. Lincoln led the way about the year 1195, under the directions of the illustrious St. Hugh, who undertook to rebuild the whole of this vast cathedral, and who was so intent upon the work, that he carried stones and mortar on his own shoulder for the use of the masons[p]. The church was

[o] See pl. V *fig.* XXVI. copied from Mr. Halfpenny's pl. 74, of Gothic Ornaments in York Minster. The original is in the West aisle of the North transept, erected early in the thirteenth century.

[p] Mat. Paris ad An. 1200.

so far advanced by him at the time of his death, which happened in 1200, that he is considered as its principal builder, though we know that its nave was not finished till about fifty years afterwards, in the episcopacy of Robert Grostete. Except the West front, which is almost all the original work of the Norman prelate Remigius, and except the groins, skreens, and certain other interior decorations, it is all in the simple style of the first or lancet order of pointed architecture, but magnificent and beautiful beyond the conception of those who have not seen it[q]. The rich and pow-

[q] Beverley Minster is for the most part in the same style, and probably of the same date with Lincoln. It is hardly inferior to it, except in its dimensions. The Western and Eastern façades, however, are in a later style. Worcester cathedral, having been defaced with fire in 1202, was restored in the course of sixteen years afterwards, being dedicated in 1218.—Annales Wigorn, ad dict. An. Its choir is decorated in the same magnificent and striking style as that of Lincoln. The triforia or galleries, and other inside work of Litchfield cathedral, are in the same rich manner. This and the windows of the nave are certainly not the work of Bishop De Clinton, in the reign of Henry I. as is generally believed; but rather of Alexander de Stavenby, who was consecrated in 1224, and who is recorded for having done great

erful Bishop of Winchester, Godfrey de Lucy, undertook in 1202 to do the same at his church that had been done at Canterbury, namely, to rebuild the East end of it in the new invented style. His extensive work still remains, and is remarkable for its long narrow arches, pointed like a lancet, its slender detached pillars of Purbec or Petworth marble, its quatrefoil mouldings, and light, though simple, groining. And whereas it was usual, for the sake of ornament and also of use, when a window was wanted, to place two of these narrow arches together under one larger arch, and being thus placed, there occurred a vacant space between their heads, a trefoil, quatrefoil, or cinquefoil was, about this period, gracefully introduced to fill it

things for his church (De Successione Epic. Lichf. Thom. Chesterfeld. Angl. Sac.) and of his other near successors, to one of whom Henry III. gave a licence for taking stone from the forest of Hopwas, "Pro nova fabrica Ecclesiæ." See Shaw's Staffordshire, &c. The Lady Chapel, and the groining of the whole cathedral, was the work of Bishop Langton, about the year 1320.

up[r]. In 1227, Archbishop Walter de Grey undertook to rebuild the Northern metropolitical church, that of York, beginning with the South cross aisle, which exhibits all the abovementioned characters[s]. The same work was going on at this time at Worcester, Salisbury, and other great churches. The latter, which was a new foundation, begun by Bishop Poore in 1220[t] and finished by Bishop Bridport in 1258, exhibits in its front and other parts the double lancet arch, with the intermediate rose between their heads and the other abovementioned characters[u]. Finding it, however, necessary to place three lancet

[r] See an outside view of De Lucy's arches at the East end of Winchester cathedral, pl. VII. *fig.* XXXII. Also at pl. VII. *fig.* XXXI. an inside view of the same, shewing the slender detached Purbec pillars, the simple groining, the quatrefoils inserted between the cuspated heads of the pillars, &c. being all of the date of 1202.

[s] See the triforia or galleries, built by Archbishop de Grey, in Mr. Halfpenny's Views, plate 78.

[t] Bishop Poore being translated to Durham, began to ornament the East end of the cathedral there, namely, the nine altars, &c. in the same style with his works at Salisbury.

[u] See pl. VI. *fig.* XXIX copied from the façade of Salisbury cathedral.

windows together in the upper story of his church, he raised the middle one considerably higher than the others, an improvement which was adopted in many other churches at this period. A still more important improvement of his was the raising of the cornice or canopy to a considerable height above the arches; which cornice had hitherto stuck fast to the architrave. It terminated, indeed, in a trefoil or other flower, but was not furnished with crockets or other rich decorations[x]. At the time when the work at Salisbury was drawing towards a conclusion, that at Westminster Abbey was beginning, namely, in 1245. The North transept and part of the adjoining work remain in much the same fashion of architecture they were left in by their founder, Henry III[y]. The windows

[x] Pl. VI. *Fig.* XXX. copied from the same. It must be added, that the cornice at this time seldom descended so low as the impost of the arch, and commonly rested on a scroll, mask, or other simple ornament by way of bracket. See *fig.* XXVI.

[y] Mr. Carter shews that the great Catharine wheel window of the transept has been enlarged to its present dimensions at a subsequent period.

of the side aisle and upper story are larger and better proportioned, and the work in general is more perfect than had hitherto been witnessed. These windows adopt the cinquefoil in their heads, and those which light the triforium externally, consist of a triple cinquefoil under a pointed arch, thus furnishing beautiful models which were imitated in the heads of windows during a long time afterwards. The arches and windows of the transept being placed in regular rows above and near each other, present the idea of those immense mullioned windows, which afterwards came into fashion. Here also, namely, in the inside of the transept, we find statues of tolerable good workmanship: and on the outside we observe niches with pedestals and plain canopies.

CHAP. VII.

Formation of the Second Order.—This the perfection of the Style, —Description of its Characteristical Members.

During the reign of our first Edward, which commenced in 1272, the architecture of this country, through the genius, industry, and piety of its architects, and artists, acquired a new character, or rather tranformed itself into a new order of the pointed style. The first feature of this was the general adoption of the well proportioned and well formed aspiring arch. The pointed arches, which had hitherto been constructed, though sometimes accidentally graceful and perfect, were almost always too narrow, too sharp in the point, and ungrace-

fully turned, as appears, amongst other instances, in the windows of the nave of Worcester, and in the old parts of Litchfield Cathedral. But those of the present period were universally well turned, and duly proportioned[a]. They were also invariably adorned, with one or more cusps, on each side of the head; so as to form trefoils, cinquefoils, &c. as also with new invented and highly finished mouldings. The pediments raised over these, and other arches, were universally purfled, that is to say, adorned with the representation of foliage along the jambs, called crockets[b]. Pinnacles, which had hitherto been rare and and quite plain, were now placed at the sides of almost every arch, and on the top of every buttress, being invariably purfled and

[a] The best proportion of the head of a pointed arch, is allowed to be when an equilateral triangle can be inscribed within its crown, and its imposts or springing.

[b] These terminations of the canopy, pediment, or sweeping cornice, as Mr. Carter terms it, were now made to descend as low as the springing of the arch, and rested on the busts of Bishops, Kings, or other founders, or benefactors of the building.

surmounted with an elegant flower, called a finial. A pinnacle of a larger size, being placed on the square tower of former times, as was the case at Salisbury, and elsewhere, became a broach or spire. Nay, so fond were the people of this novel ornament, that we read of a new built tower being taken down, because it was not fit to sustain one; when another tower, with a spire to it, was built, equal in height with the whole length of the church[c]. That bold feature of this style the flying buttress, for supporting the upper walls of the nave, which had hitherto, for the most part, been concealed in the roof of the side aisles, was now brought to view with suitable dressings, as an ornament. The window no longer consisted of an arch divided by a mullion into two, and surmounted with a single or triple circle, or quatrefoil, but was now portioned out by

[c] Du Fresne, Article Turrile. N. B. We read of a steeple upon the top of St. Paul's, London, early in this century, but we may be sure it was such a small plain obelisk, as those we see on the façade of Salisbury.

mullions and transoms, or cross bars, into four, five, six, and sometimes into nine bays, or days, as the separate lights of a window were called; and their heads were diversified by tracery work into a variety of architectural designs, and particularly into the form of flowers. The circumstance, which had favoured the introduction of large West windows, was the abrogation of canonical penances, in consequence of the frequent crusades, which, in its consequence rendered the Galilee, or penitential porch at that end of the church unnecessary[d]. The plain niches of the 13th century, early in the 14th became

[d] There were formerly such porches at the Western extremity of all large churches. In these public penitents were stationed; dead bodies were sometimes deposited, previously to their interment, and females were allowed to see the monks of the convent, who were their relatives. We may gather from a passage in Gervase, that, upon a woman's applying for leave to see a monk, her relation, she was answered, in the words of scripture: "He goeth "before you into Galilee, there you shall see him." Hence the term *Galilee*, which is still retained for the Western porches of Durham and Ely Cathedrals, and which has puzzled all antiquaries. It is well known that at Durham Cathedral, women were not even allowed to attend divine service, except in the Galilee.

gorgeous tabernacles, in which as much architectural skill and industry was often bestowed, as in building the whole church. These tabernacles, as well as various other parts of the sacred edifice, were filled with statuary, which frequently exhibited equal spirit in the design, and art in the execution[e]. Finally the ribs, supporting the groined ceilings, were no longer simple intersecting arches, but they branched out in tracery work of various devices, still more rich and elegant than that in the large windows; and wherever these ribs met, they were tied together by an architectural knot, called a boss, or orb, which generally exhibited some instructive device[f].

[e] This will be acknowledged by every person of taste, who looks into Mr Halfpenny's work, representing the decorations of York Minster, executed early in the 14th century.

[f] It is proper to observe that the pediments, or canopies, which during the reign of the two first Edwards, and the early part of Edward IIId's. reign, rose straight upwards, like the sides of an equilateral triangle, as has been seen in *fig.* XXX, towards the latter end of the reign of Edward III, began to humour the sweeping curve of the arches they covered, which reduced their excessive height, and added to their gracefulness. See pl. VII, *fig.* XXXIII, copied from Winchester College Tower.

We have proofs of these improvements, or rather of this new order of pointed architecture, in the three remaining grand crosses erected in memory of Eleanor, wife of Edward I. at Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham. She died in 1290. We have other proofs in the magnificent tomb in Westminster Abbey, of Edmund Crouchback, brother of King Edward I. who died in 1296. But the most perfect specimen of the whole detail of these improvements is to be met with in York Minster, the nave of which was built between the years 1290 and 1330, and the choir some thirty years afterwards. If any similar erection, on a smaller scale, could, in its time, have vied with this in beauty and grandeur, it was St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, which was begun by Edward III. in 1348. But of the inimitable beauties of this chapel, only a few scattered vestiges remain[g]. There are few indeed, if any, of

[g] See the plans, elevations, &c. of this chapel, now the House of Commons, published by the Society of Antiquaries from Mr. Carter's drawings.

our cathedrals which were not rebuilt or repaired in some or other of their parts in the new improved manner. Before 1321 Bishop Langton had added the Lady chapel to his Cathedral of Litchfield, had groined the whole, and had erected the beautiful Western façade[h]. About the same time the chief part of the nave of Westminster Abbey was in building. Between the years 1327 and 1370, Exeter cathedral was groined, and its heavy Norman work changed into the light and elegant pointed architecture of that period, by its munificent Prelate, Grandison[i]. During the Pontificate of Courtney, which commenced in 1381, and that of his successor Arundel, the nave of Canterbury cathedral was rebuilt[k]. About the same period that great prelate and architect, Bishop William de Wykeham, was employed in performing the

[h] Thomas de Chesterfield Angl. Sacr. et Godwin de Præsul.

[i] Godwin de Præsul.

[k] Idem.

same difficult work in Winchester cathedral, which had taken place in that of Exeter and others. It has been generally said[1] that Wykeham took down the nave of his church, which had been erected by his Norman predecessor, Walkelin, in order to build that which exists at present, and few persons can understand how the clumsy circular architecture of the eleventh century could be altered into the elegant pointed style of the fourteenth; but, to convince themselves of the possibility of this, they have but to ascend into the roofs of the side aisles and nave of the last mentioned church. Indeed, without such climbing, they may see this demonstrated at the West end of Gloucester, St. Albans, and Rumsey great churches, where two or three of the plain circular Saxon pillars have been cased with mouldings, so as to appear cluster columns, and where the

[1] Bishop Lowth in his Life of W. of Wykeham, the Rev. Thomas Warton in his Survey of Winchester, &c.

naked round arches have been shaped into elegant pointed ones, while the rest of the columns and arches to the Eastward are left in their original state. The taste for improvement descended to the parish churches, in which though means should have been wanting for making any other alterations, yet the windows, at least of almost all of them, were changed by some benefactor or another into those of the pointed style. Hence it is not uncommon to see figures of knights or ladies presenting windows of this form in the painted glass of such churches[m].

[m] There are representations of such in Dugdale's Warwickshire, in Montfaucon's Antiquities of the French Monarchy, &c. In the last mentioned work we see, in Plate XCIII. the figure of Lewis Count of Evreux, son of the French King, presenting a window to the principal church of that city. It is a very poor specimen of architecture for the beginning of the fourteenth century, with which this offering corresponds.

CHAP. VIII.

Depression of the Pointed Arch—The Third Order of the Pointed Style—Description of it—Cause of the Decline of Pointed Architecture.

It is the condition of all mortal things to be subject to change; hence human arts, like the human body, when they have attained their perfection, tend towards a decline. This was the case with that singular invention of human genius and piety, pointed architecture. Its rise, progress, and decline, occupy little more than four centuries in the chronology of the world. As its characteristical perfection consisted in the due elevation of the arch; so its decline commenced by an undue depression of it. This took place in the latter part

of the fifteenth century, and is to be seen, amongst other instances, in parts of St. George's chapel, Windsor, built by Edward IV[n]. in King's College chapel, Cambridge, and in the chapel of Henry VII. Westminster. It is undoubtedly true, that the architects of these splendid and justly admired erections, Bishop Cloose, Sir Reginald de Bray, &c. displayed more art and more professional science than their predecessors had done; but they did this at the expence of the characteristical excellence of the style itself which they built in. They consulted more their own reputation than the proper effect of their works. The spectator, in viewing these, was amazed at the sight of huge masses of stone, of more than a ton weight, called pendent capitals, hanging in the air, which, instead of supporting the vast groins in which they

n This monarch died in 1483. We have selected the arch over his tomb in St. George's chapel, Windsor, as a specimen of the arch in question. Pl. VII. *Fig.* XXXIV.

are fixed, are supported by them. But this taste betrayed a disregard for the aspiring arch, the curvature of which was henceforward discernible at its springing, rather than at its point. Finally, ingenuity more than sublimity was now affected, and curiosity more than devotion gratified. Thus the Royal chapels and mortuary oratories, built in the reigns of the two last Henrys, are seen covered over with tracery and other carvings of the most exquisite design and execution, but which fatigue the eye and cloy the mind by their redundancy. Hence the judicious critic, after admiring their ingenuity, fails not to sigh for the chaste grandeur of York Minster, or even for the unadorned majesty of Salisbury cathedral, instead of them. The windows of this period were so enlarged, multiplied, and brought down so low, as to give the whole sacred edifice the appearance of a glass lanthorn. This, amongst other instances, is exemplified in the Lady chapel of Glouces-

ter Abbey, which was built towards the close of the fifteenth century. The mullions were multiplied proportionably to the size of the windows, in such manner that frequently the eye cannot discover any regular figure or design in them. The tracery of the vaulting corresponded with that of the windows. The ribs, whose office it is to support the groins, were ramified into fibres; but, in return, they were loaded at the knots with such numerous and disproportioned heavy armorial bearings, badges, rebuses, and other similar ornaments, as to draw down the low arches still nearer to the eye, and to give them an appearance of heaviness very remote from the due effect of the pointed arch . The

° It is to be understood, however, that these observations do not apply to all the pointed architecture of the æra in question. Bishop Oliver King, for example, about the year 1500, erected the grand church at Bath, in a very chaste and in some respects too plain a manner; for he contented himself with coving the nave instead of groining it. In 1525, Bisop Fox rebuilt and ornamented the chancel of Winchester cathedral with the same good taste, except as far as regards the substituting of canopies over the towers instead of pinnacles, and loading the groins with numberless heavy devices.

same depression of the arch, which characterizes the inside of the sacred buildings of this period, appears also on the outside of them. Instead of the aspiring pinnacles and spires of the preceding æra, the towers now built were covered with hemispherical cupolas, and the portals of this period, though still slightly pointed, instead of being surmounted with crocketed canopies and purfled side buttresses, were enclosed in large square architraves, the chief ornaments of which were inscribed in the spandrels[p]. In short, the downfal of pointed architecture in this kingdom, as its established style for ecclesiastical purposes, was inevitable from a variety of causes, but chiefly from a falling off from its primary character, the sublime, which was the necessary consequence of the depression of its aspiring arch. The ruin was complete when Edward VI. mounted the throne in the mid-

[p] See the arch over the tomb of Edward IV. in the *Fig.* above referred to.

dle of the sixteenth century. Then began a truly Gothic, or at least a barbaric style, consisting of irregular and ill-executed Grecian members, with intermixed globes, triangles, frets, pyramids, obelisks, and other absurd devices, as may be seen on all the ornamental tombs and other works executed in England, between the close of the reign of the last Henry and the early part of the reign of the first Charles, by whose taste and munificence, and the genius of Inigo Jones, true Grecian architecture was introduced into this island.

CHAP. IX.

Description of the Three Orders—Periods of their respective duration—Churches, &c. which belong to each of them.

FROM what has been said it will appear that there are three orders of the pointed style, corresponding with the different periods in which they prevailed, each one of which has its proper character and members[q] as much as the five orders of the Grecian style have theirs[r]. It is for professional men, such as the author of the Ancient Architecture of England, who has spent his life in bisecting our cathedrals, longitudinally and

[q] It is a mistake in Mr. Payne Knight to assert, as he does in his Inquiry, p. 159, that "If we ask what is meant by pure "Gothic, we can receive no satisfactory answer, as there are no "rules, no proportions, and consequently no definitions of it."

[r] Batty Langley attempts to make out five orders of what he calls Gothic Architecture, to correspond, in number, with the Grecian orders. But it is to be observed, that this miserable architect invents all his orders: they are none of them conformable to original works in the pointed style. Such, however, as they are, they have served to mislead this nation into a preposterous

latitudinally[s], and in copying them, from their grand proportions down to their minutest decorations,[t] to enter into the detail of these with both his pencil and his pen. The chief rule he will have to follow in the performance of the task here pointed out, is that which the writer has scrupulously adhered to in the course of this treatise, namely, to select such architectural specimens[u] for his authorities, as can be demonstrated to belong to the periods and orders

species of architecture, very prevalent in the villas round the metropolis, called the Gothic, but which ought be called the fantastic style.

[s] See that splendid work, which does so much honour to our nation, published by the Society of Antiquaries, Plans, Elevations, and Sections of St. Stephen's chapel, and of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Gloucester cathedrals, engraved by Mr. Basire, from the drawings of Mr. Carter.

[t] See Mr. Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, likewise his Ancient Architecture of England. In the latter work he is laying the foundations and furnishing the materials for the regular system here suggested.

[u] A great variety of examples, accurately drawn, and elegantly engraved, will be found in "*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,*" of which 2 vols. in quarto, are already published, and which with the accompanying documents would be of the greatest use to the scientific architect who should undertake the important task here pointed out.

in which he places them. That this task has not yet been performed is no proof that it cannot be performed. Grecian architecture was long practised before the rules of it were laid down, or the proportions of it discovered. With respect to the present writer it is sufficient for him to refer to the proofs which he has adduced, that the pointed style of architecture in this country can be traced up to the reign of Henry I. in 1132, or, at the latest, to the beginning of the reign of Stephen, in 1136, and that its First Order, that of the acute arch, was perfected before the conclusion of the twelfth century, and that this order continued till near the conclusion of the thirteenth century; that its Second Order, that of the perfect or equilateral arch[x], reigned from that period till after the middle of the fifteenth century; and

[x] It is not meant that all the arches of the second order are of the proportion in question; it is sufficient that they come near to it, and are all elegantly turned.

that the Third Order, that of the obtuse arch, obtained from this time down to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the style itself was exploded, and a great proportion of the most beautiful specimens of it were destroyed. We have also remarked that the First Order is characterized during its formation, that is to say, till near the latter part of the twelfth century, chiefly by its acute arch (its pillars and other members being frequently Saxon,) but after its formation, not only by the narrowness and acuteness of its arch, but also by its detached slender shafts, its groining of simple intersecting ribs, its plain pediments without crockets or side pinnacles, and its windows, which are either destitute of mullions or have only a simple bisecting mullion, with a single or a triple trefoil, quatrefoil, or other flower, in the head of them. Of this order are the East end of Canterbury, the West end of Lincoln, and the whole of Salisbury Cathedrals, besides

the transepts of York Minster and of Westminster Abbey. The Second Order is marked, not only by the due proportion and the fine turn of its arch, but also by the cluster columns being, for the most part, formed out of one and the same stone, for the sake of combining strength with lightness, by the elegant, but not overcrowded tracery of its windows and groining, by its crocketed pinnacles, tabernacles, and pediments, the latter of which, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, were made to humour the sweeping of the arch which they covered. To this order belong the nave of Westminster Abbey, the nave and choir of York Minster, the naves of Winchester, Exeter, and Canterbury cathedrals, Wykeham's two colleges, St. Stephen's chapel, &c. The Third Order is known, not only by the flatness of the point of its arch, but also by its numerous, large, and low descending windows, together with the multiplicity and intricacy of its tracery,

by its pendent capitals, by the profusion of its ornaments on the walls, both exteriorly and interiorly, by its fan work and countless shields and devices on the ceilings. To this order belong King's College chapel, the chapel of Henry VII. those of Prince Arthur, at Worcester, of Cardinal Beaufort and the Bishops Waynflete and Fox, at Winchester, &c. It will be readily gathered from the whole of this treatise which of the three orders the author himself prefers for religious structures, as best calculated to produce the proper effect of the style[y]; though, doubtless, the impracticability of raising a lofty arch, from want of strength in the supporters or other causes, may sometimes render the obtuse arch preferable upon the whole, especially for small chapels. But which ever order of the pointed style is adopted, good taste as strictly requires that their respective members and ornaments should not be blended together, as that

[y] See Appendix Q.

Grecian and pointed architecture should not be intermixed in the same work[z].

[z] This want of taste is conspicuous in the alterations which have been made of late years in Salisbury cathedral, where the ornaments of the demolished Beauchamp chapel, being of the third order of pointed architecture, are employed to decorate the chaste and uniform work, in the first order, of the illustrious Prelate who founded the cathedral and city of Sarum, Richard de Poore. See the Author's "Dissertation on the Modern Style of altering Ancient Cathedrals."

APPENDIX.

[A] It is so called in the account of the Cathedral of Durham, published by the Society of Antiquaries, which accompanies their magnificent and beautiful plates of that church, engraved by Mr. Basire, from Mr. Carter's drawings. The appellation of English Architecture has drawn forth certain criticisms on the part of Mr. Whittington and others; but if these writers even had succeeded in proving that the pointed style did not begin in England, as certainly they have not, still, arguing by analogy, there would be no impropriety in the term. When we speak of the antiquities discovered at Bath, and exhibited and explained by Sir Henry Englefield, Archaeolog. Vol. X. we call them Roman, not that the style of them was invented at Rome, for they are in the Corinthian order, but because they were erected during the Roman dynasty in Britain. In like manner we call those Saxon remains,

which we believe to have been erected during the Heptarchy, not that the Saxons invented the manner of building them, for we know the Saxons were taught to build by the Romans of their age. Why then may not that be called English Architecture which began to prevail when the nation became properly denominated English?

[B] The lower porch, however, which was the place for penitents, was shut up interiorly, and thus formed part of the open cloyster, that was generally in front of the primitive churches. Mr. Whittington, in his late work, supports an opinion that "the Basilicæ, erected "by Constantine, like the buildings from which they "were copied, were open at the sides." Hist. Survey, p. 3. This observation rests upon no other ground than an observation of Ciampini, that in the Sessorian Basilic, now the church of the Holy Cross at Rome, the arcades which were heretofore open are filled up with different materials and workmanship from the original building. But could hardly appear otherwise, though they had been stopped up by Constantine, as we make no doubt they were. Had the ancient churches been open on all sides, how could that object of primitive veneration, the altar, have been preserved safe from violation? How could the sacred mysteries be kept secret from the heathens, in conformity with the canons? Of what use was the ancient order of

Ostiarii or door keepers, mentioned by St. Ignatius in the first century, and St. Cornelius in the third? and indeed of what use were church doors themselves?

[c] Paulinum asserit patrum traditio ecclesiam, contex- " tam dudum, ut diximus, virgis, ligno tabulatu in- " duisse, et plumbo, à summo usque deorsum, coope- " ruisse. Egit namque prædicabilis viri solertia ut nihi " decederet sanctitati et plurimum accederet ornatui." Gul. Malm. Antiq. Glaston. apud Gale.

[d] Venerable Bede, speaking of the abovementioned church of Lindisfarn, which Bishop Finian had built of oaken planks and covered with reeds, says: " Episcopus " loci illius, Eadbert, ablatâ arundine, plumbi laminis " eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos parietes ejus, " cooperire curavit." This happened about the year " 700."

[e] " In Rhypis basilicam polito lapide, a funda- " mentis-usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis " et porticibus suffultam in altum errexit et consum- " mavit." Eddius Vita S. Wilf. c. xvii. apud Gale. This writer flourished in the year 720.

[f] " Profunditatem ecclesiæ (Hagulstaldensis) cryptis- " et oratoriis subterraneis et viarum anfractibus inferius

" cum magnâ industriâ fundavit. Parietes autem qua-
" dratis et variis et bene politis columnis suffultos et
" tribus tabulatis distinctos, immensæ longitudinis et
" altitudinis errexit. Ipsos etiam et capitella columna-
" rum quibus sustentantur et arcum sanctuarii historiis
" et imaginibus et variis celaturarum figuris ex lapide
" prominentibus et picturarum et colorum grata varie-
" tate, mirabilique decore decoravit. Ipsum quoque
" corpus ecclesiæ appenticiis et porticibus undique cir-
" cumcinxit, quæ miro atque inexplicabili artificio per
" parietes et cocleas inferius et superius distinxit.—
" Denique citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis reperiri
" poterat." Ricard Prior de Stat. Haguld. Ecc. c. iii. Twysden X. Script.——" Neque ullam domum aliam
" citra Alpes montes talem (sicut Hagulstaldensem)
" ædificatam audivimus." Eddius. Vit. Wilf. c. xxii. See also Will. Malm. De Pont. L. III. p. 273.

[G] Bede L. IV. c. 2. " Ædificia mirabile quantum
" expolivit, arbitratu quidem multa suo, sed et cæmen-
" tariorum, quos ex Româ spes munificentiæ attraxerat,
" magisterio." Will. Malm. De Pontif. L. III.

[H] " Architectos sibi mitti petiit qui, juxta *morem*
" *Romorum* ecclesiam de lapide ingenti ipsi facerent." Bed. L. V. c. 22.

[I] "Sunt autem in eadem villa duæ aliæ ecclesiæ, "una haud procul a muro matris ecclesiæ, mirandi "operis, et ipsa scilicet in modum turris erecta et fere "rotunda, à quatuor partibus totidem porticus habens.— "Has tres ecclesias S. Wilfridus incæpisse creditur, sed "ejus successor, Beatæ memoriæ, Acca eas consum- "mavit." Ric Haguls. c. 5.

[K] "Idem B. Papa (Stephanus III. A. D. 770.) fecit "super Basilicam S. Petri turrim, in qua tres posuit "campanas quæ clerum et populum ad officium Dei con- "vocarent." Anastas. Biblioth. in Vita Steph. III.

[L] "Sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius (Ecclesiæ "Cantuariensis) duæ erant turres prominentes ultra "ecclesiæ alas; quarum una, quæ in austro erat, sub "honore B. Gregorii altare dedicatum habebat et, in "latere, principale hostium (ostium) ecclesiæ, quod "*Suthdore* dicitur. Alia vero turris in aquilonari plaga, "è regione illius, condita fuit in honore B. Martini." Gervas. Dorob. De combust et Reparat. Ecc. Doroo. apud Twisden X. Script. N. B. Gervase in this passage quotes the account of the old church, by Eadmer, who had seen it previously to its being burnt in the time of Lanfranc.

[*L] "Porro Normanni erant tunc & sunt adhuc ves-
"tibus, ad invidiam culti, cibis, citra ullam nimietatem,
"delicati.—Domi ingentia ædificia moliri.—Religionis
"normam usquequaque emortuam adventu suo suscita-
"runt. Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et
"urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere, consur-
"gere, recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut periisse diem
"quisque opulentus existimat, quem non aliqua præclarâ
"magnificentiâ illustret." Wilhelm. Malmesb. De Wilhel. 1°. L. III. De Reg. p. 102.

[N] "Hæc (sanctimonialis Begu) dum in dormitorio
"sororum pausans, audivit subito *in aere* notum *cam-*
"*panæ*, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant
"cum quis earum de sæculo fuisset convocata." Bed. Hist. L. IV. c. 23.—N. B. The use of painted glass in England is brought down, by modern writers, as low as the reign of Henry III. Such may be the æra of its being *made* in England; but it is likely that the use of it is a great deal more ancient, since it was employed in windows at Rome as early as the year 813; in which year Leo III. glazed the church of St. John Lateran with glass of various colours. See Fleury, L. XLVI. Sec. XX. and his authorities.

[O] Upon what authority then has Mr. Whittington pronounced the arches in this choir, which the writer

had referred to in a former work, Hist. of Winch. Vol. II. p. 152, to be "doubtful instances." He says, "Perhaps these intersections were not originally "pierced." To clear up this doubt, let the choir be first inspected. Without the twenty windows of the intersected arches it would be nearly dark at noon day. Next let the work itself be examined. It will be found that the cornice from which the pointed arch springs, not only on the surface of the wall, but also through the whole thickness of it, is of one and the same construction. Lastly, let the pointed arches at *fig.* XX. copied from the South transept of St. Cross, which have no intersecting semicircles over them, be compared with those of the windows, they will be found to be of exactly the same very singular design and workmanship with them, and therefore are to be pronounced coeval with them, that is to say, as ancient as 1136 at least. With equal inattention to his subject, this writer denies that "the church of St. "Cross is a sort of collection of architectural essays;" affirming that "it is made up of successive alterations and "repairs."—It is for the architectural critic, who surveys the still diversified arches, and columns with their capitals and bases, ribs, mouldings, &c. in the same series and adjoining to each other, all of them being of characteristical Norman workmanship, to decide, whether the author had good reason for his assertion, or Mr. Whit-

tington for his denial. This gentleman's difficulties would all have vanished had he conceived that De Blois finished the choir, and erected the huge columns of the nave, with the side aisles, leaving to Toclyve, or one of his other successors, to raise the upper story and West façade.

[P] " Nunc autem quæ sit operis utriusque differentia " dicendum est. Pilariorum igitur tam veterum quam " novorum una forma est, una grossitudo, sed longitudo " dissimilis. Elongati sunt enim pilarii novi longitu- " dine pedum fere duodecim. In capitellis veteribus " opus erat planum, in novis sculptura subtilis. Ibi in " chori ambitu pilarii viginti duo, hîc autem viginti " octo. Ibi arcus et cætera omnia plana utpote sculpta " secure et non scisello, hîc in omnibus fere sculptura " idonea. Ibi columna nulla marmorea, hîc innumeræ. " Ibi in circuitu, extra chorum, fornices planæ, hîc " arcuatæ et clavatæ. Ibi murus super pilarios direc- " tus cruces à choro sequestrabat, hîc vero, nullo in- " terstitio, cruces a choro divisæ in unam clavem quæ " in medio fornicis magnæ consistit, quæ quatuor " pilariis principalibus imititur, convenire videntur. " Ibi cœlum ligneum egregiâ picturâ decoratum, hîc " fornix ex lapide et topho levi decenter composita est. " Ibi triforium unum, hic duo in choro et in ala ec-

" clesiæ tertium. Quæ omnia visu melius quam auditu " intelligere volenti patebunt." Gervas. De Combust. Dorob. Ecc. Twysd. col. 1302.

[Q] It cannot be questioned that the primary object of the religious inventors and improvers of ecclesiastical pointed architecture was to excite awe and devotion, for which purpose they studied sublimity rather than richness, as Mr. Whittington supposes, the latter quality being secondary and quite subservient to the former. Hence we cannot prefer the portal of Amiens cathedral, nor even that of Rheims, which he gives us a plate of, to that of York, or even to that of Litchfield, after all the violence the latter has sustained in a formal siege: we cannot, I say, prefer that of Amiens in consequence of " armies of saints, prophets, martyrs, and angels lining " the door way, crowding the walls, and swarming round " all the pinnacles." Survey, p. 149. According to this rule, the façade of the church of Wells would be the most beautiful of English cathedrals. For our part, we think that the *Simplex munditiis* of Horace is the rule of all that is beautiful, and that a due proportion rather than a profusion of statuary and other ornaments, is a recommendation of pointed as well as of other architecture. In the same taste the writer repeatedly extols the church of Amiens for being " all windows," p. 151 and 153, than which, in the opinion of Mr. Burke, nothing

can be more injurious to the effect of the sublime. The surveyor of French architecture dwells, with rapture, on the size of the French portals, p. 127; but surely a door may be too high as well as too low, and few persons of taste would admire a door which, with its ornaments, reaches to a great deal more than half the height of the whole building to which it serves as an entrance, as is the case with his boasted cathedral of Rheims, and still more so with that of Rouen. The neighbouring abbey church of St. Nicaise was in this particular, as well as in the general appearance of its façade, far preferable to the cathedral of Rheims. The surveyor reproaches the English cathedrals with having only three parallel aisles, whereas some of those in France have five, p. 117. The latter undoubtedly had their advantage in the ancient service; which use, however, the side chapels in most of our great churches answered better. With respect to effect, it is most certain that more than one aisle on each side of the nave appears to be an excrescence, and takes off from the unity of the grand design. It is like having more than two hands or two legs. The French boast of the portal of Rheims, which is far surpassed by that of York, especially in its restored state, as Mr. Carter has exhibited it. Again they boast of the choir of Beauvais, to which we oppose that of Lincoln, stripped as the latter has been since the Reformation, and now disgraced as it is by a pro-

fane disgusting altar piece. Lastly, they boast of the nave of Amiens: with this (though seen to so great an advantage in consequence of all the rich and judicious decorations which the late good Bishop La Motte added to it) we hesitate not to compare that of York.

THE END.

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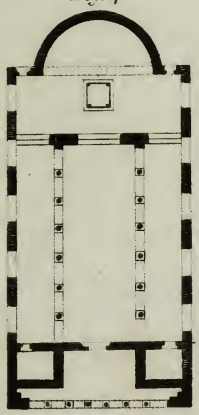
Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 3

Fig. 4



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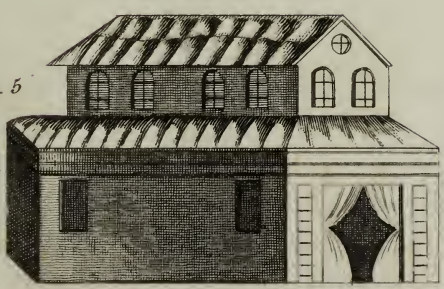

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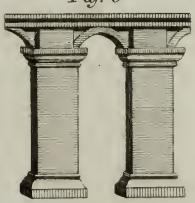

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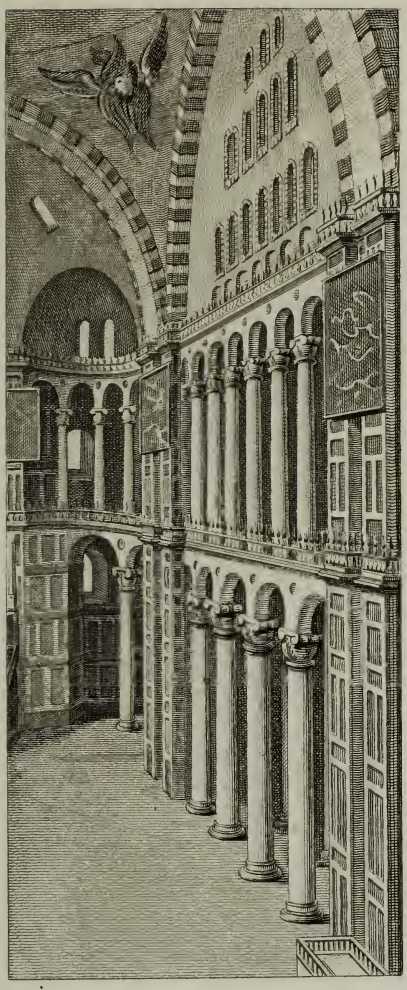

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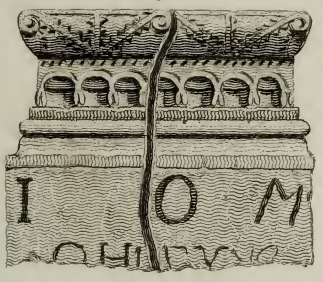

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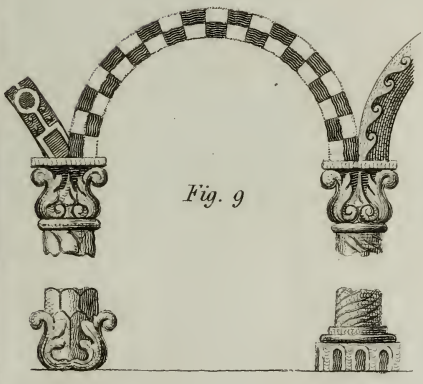

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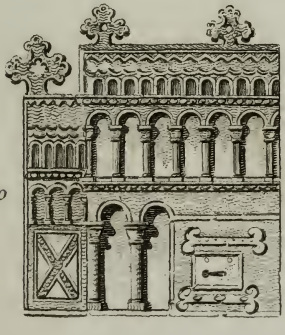

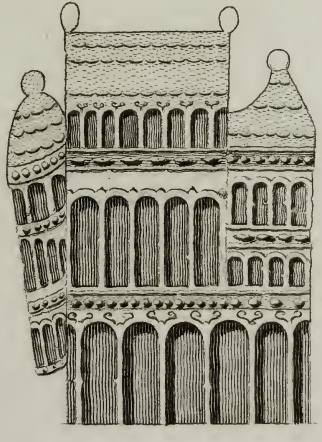

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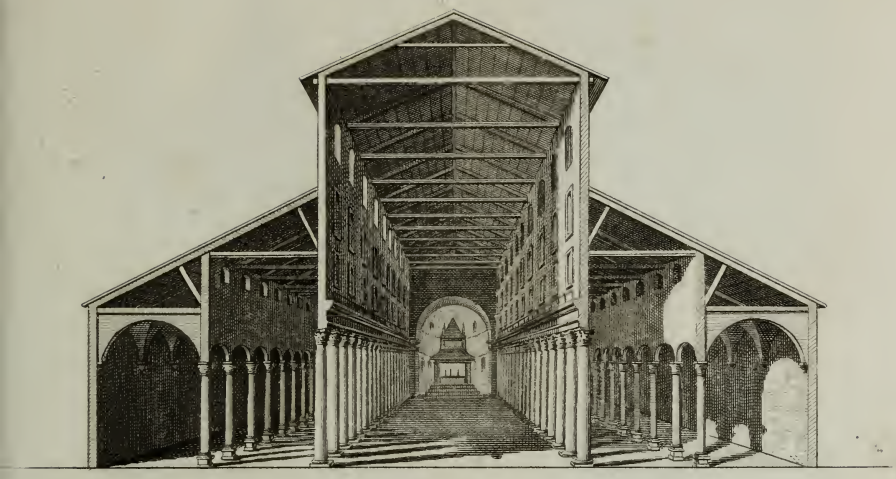

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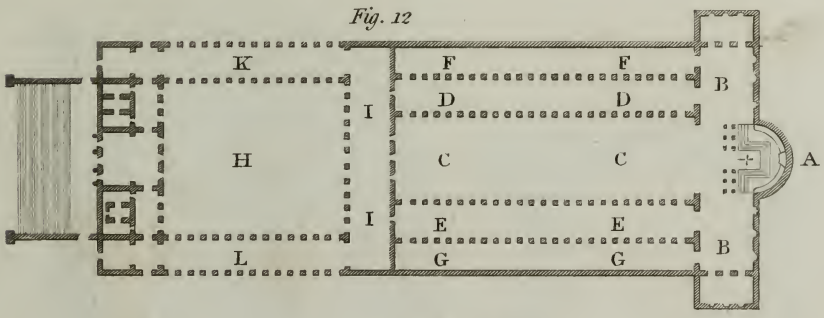

A *The Absis*

B *The Transepts*

C *The Nave*

D E *The high side Aisles*

F G *The low side Aisles*

H *The Atrium, or open Court*

I *The Narthex, or Penitents porch*

K L *North & South porches*

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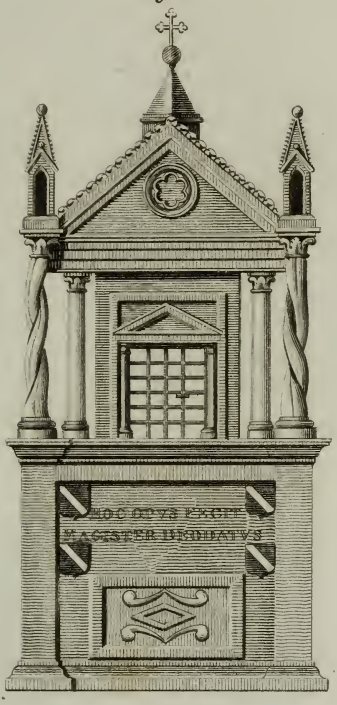
Fig. 15



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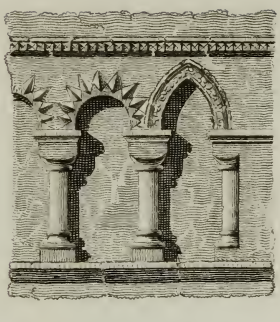

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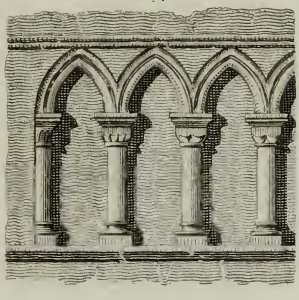

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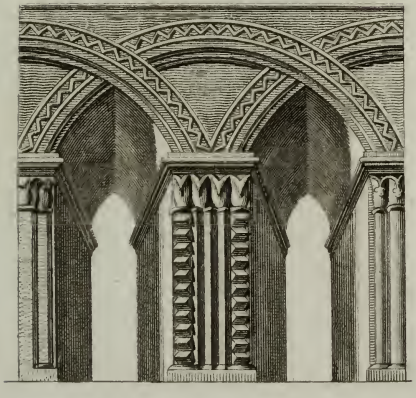

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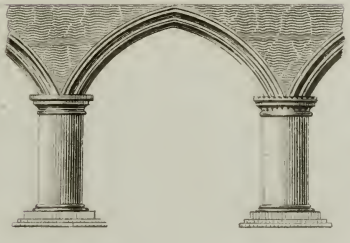

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Fig. 21

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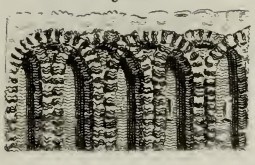

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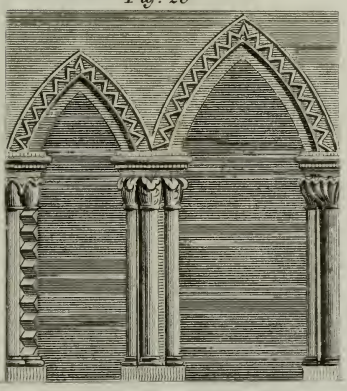

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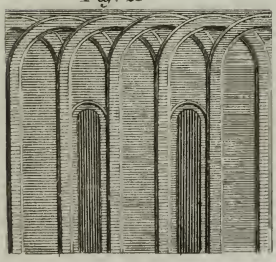

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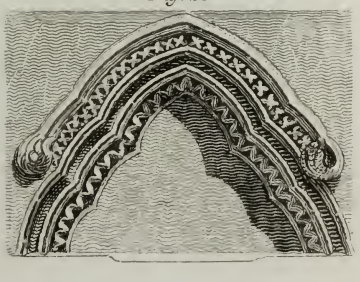

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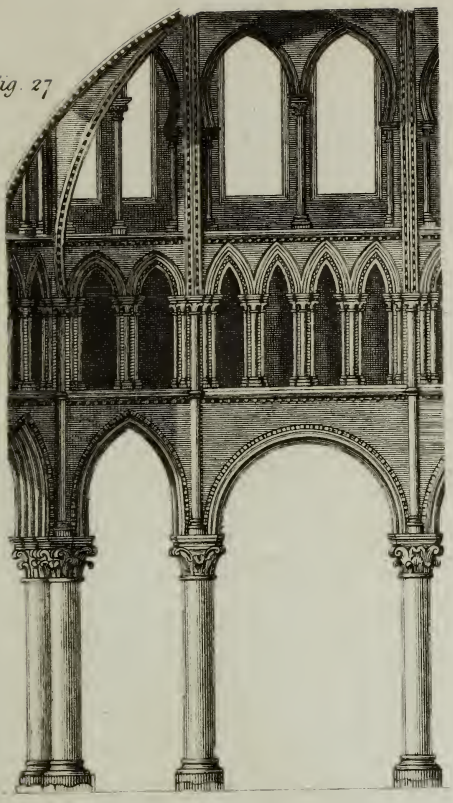

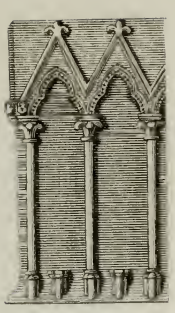

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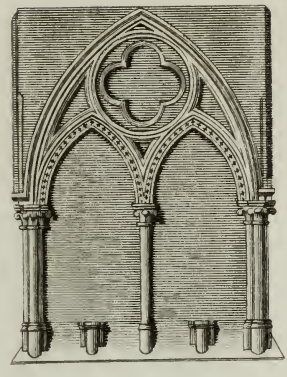

Fig. 30

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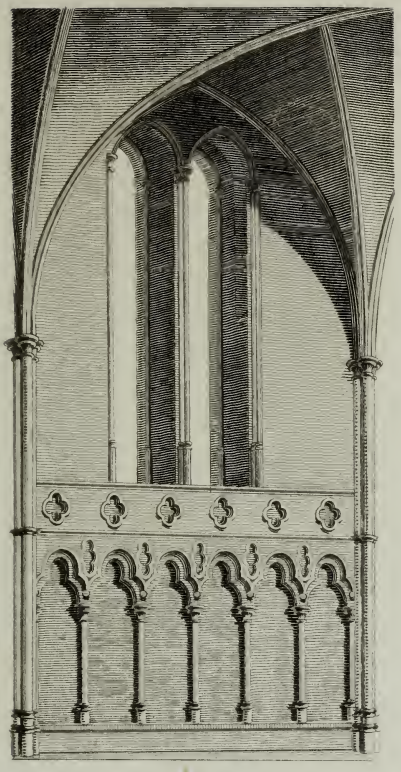

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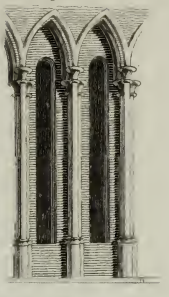

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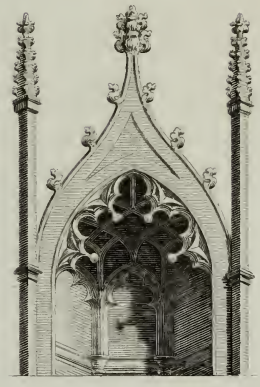

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Interior View of the East end of

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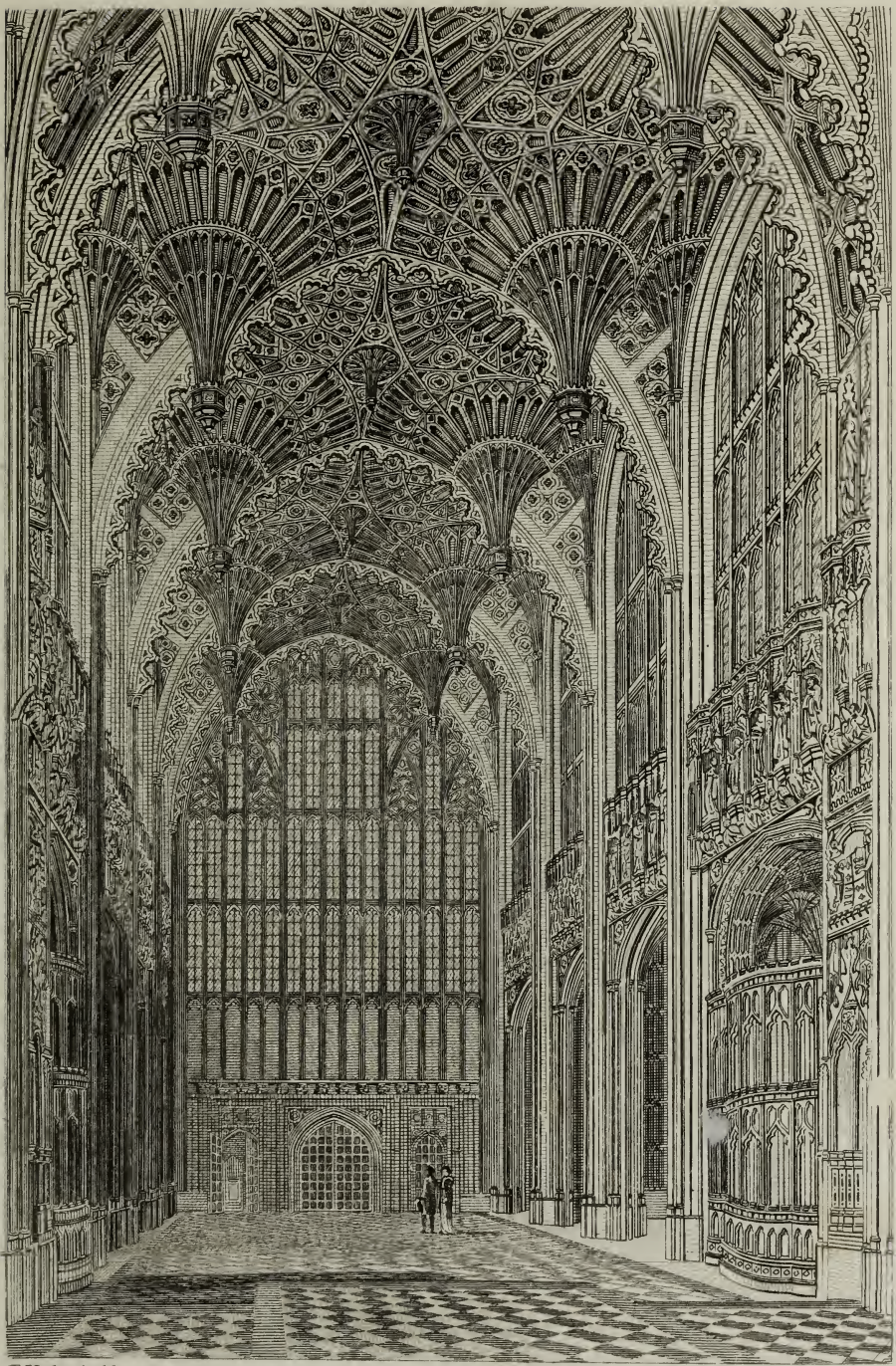

F. Mackenzie del. Etchd. by W. Woolnoth

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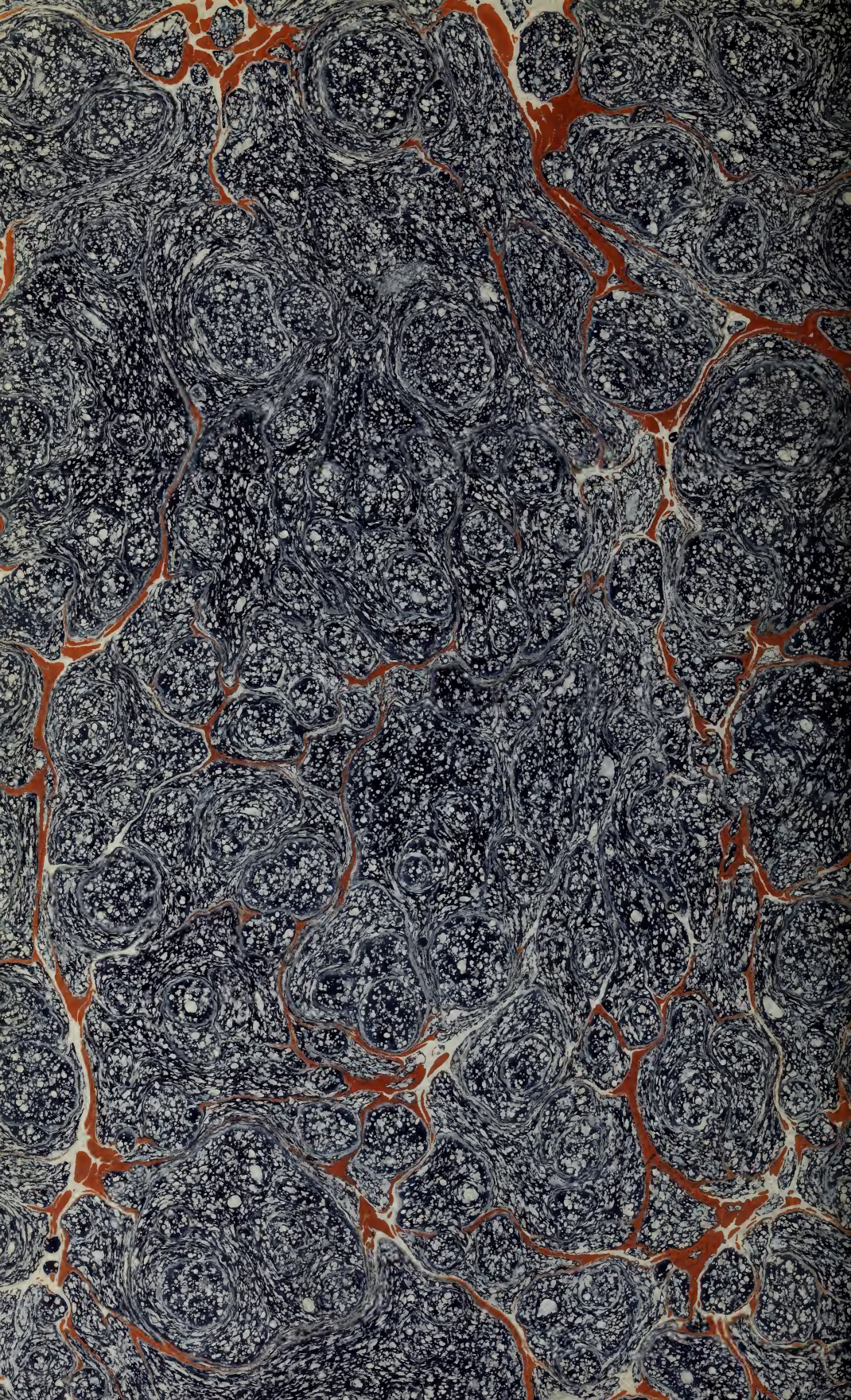

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